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ROMANIA: MOST FAVORED NATION STATUS

HEARING

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON
EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
UNITED STATES SENATE

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ROMANIA: MOST FAVORED NATION STATUS

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 26, 1986

U.S. SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON EUROPEAN AFFAIRS,
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS,
Washington, DC.

The subcommittee met at 9:34 a.m., in room SD–419, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Hon. Larry Pressler (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Present: Senators Helms, Pressler, Trible, Pell, Cranston, and Dodd.

Senator **PRESSLER**. I will call this hearing to order. Senator Trible and I will offer opening statements. We will get those out of the way first.

Before proceeding, I want to thank the staff on both sides for the hard work they have done in preparing for this hearing.

We welcome our guests to this hearing on United States-Romanian relations, sponsored by the European Affairs Subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

This is an all-day hearing with administration witnesses this morning, a break for lunch, and a discussion of human rights issues from 2 p.m. to 4 p.m., with some congressional witnesses at 4 p.m.

The purpose of our hearing today is a thorough review of United States-Romanian relations in their East-West context.

In deference to our colleagues on the Finance and Ways and Means Committees, we will focus our attention on the broadest foreign policy issues, rather than on the more particular concerns that must necessarily be the province of other committees.

At the heart of our discussion this morning will be the U.S. policy of differentiation. "Differentiation" is a policy that has been pursued under various names by each administration since Eisenhower.

This strategy is a means of encouraging East European governments to distance themselves from the Soviet Union, to improve their human rights records, and to pursue liberal economic reforms.

The United States has traditionally promoted such developments in Eastern Europe with a variety of tools. These tools include increased high-level diplomatic contacts, the awarding of MFN status, Export-Import Bank credit eligibility, and cultural and scientific agreements, among others.

In the Romanian case, the annual renewal of MFN prompts a debate between those who believe that differentiation is not working and those who see tangible progress.

Likewise, with regard to Romania's MFN status, an annual debate occurs between those who believe that emigration is insufficient or that the Jackson-Vanik amendment should be broadened to encompass religious and cultural persecution and those who feel that the most-favored-nation tool has been useful in exercising effective leverage on human rights issues.

This latter group also tends to argue that Romania's precarious economic plight would be exacerbated by the removal of MFN. Those who argue on this side worry that Romania's increasing energy dependence upon the U.S.S.R. is but the first step in a growing dependence upon the U.S.S.R.

Because United States-Romanian relations are so complex, we have scheduled a broad range of witnesses. They will be able to discuss the broadest foreign policy concerns and the most detailed trade and investment data critical to the debate.

In addition, the most up to date information on the persecution of nationalities, religious persecution, emigration, and the granting of MFN will be presented.

Due to the fact that we have more than ten witnesses, we will request that witnesses limit themselves to 10 minutes and put their entire statements into the record. However, if more time is needed, we want certainly to have a thorough hearing, and will consider adjusting this policy.

Each Senator will then alternate, from majority to minority sides, with a 10-minute maximum round for questions, and a second round if necessary.

At this point, I would like to call on my colleague who has done a great deal in helping to prepare for these hearings and a great deal of work in this area, Senator Trible.

Senator TRIBLE. Mr. Chairman, I thank you very much for holding these hearings. I must respond to your opening statement by observing that if the object of differentiation has been to improve human rights and to bring about the establishment of more liberal economic policies, then surely that policy on our part must be judged a failure as it relates to Romania.

For the past 10 years, Romania has played, I believe, a deceptive song and dance with the American Government. Each year, President Ceausescu has pledged that human rights conditions in his country will improve; each year, human rights abuses continue, and each year the United States extends Romania's most-favored-nation trading privileges.

What is worse, the extension of MFN status has virtually been on automatic pilot for the past decade.

I am here today to say in no uncertain terms to this administration and to the Romanian Government that that is no longer the case, that there is a growing body of Senators and Congressmen that believes strongly that we should not conduct "business as usual" with a nation of the character of Romania.

Let me just for a few moments at the outset set forth some of the policies of Romania that trouble me the most.

First and foremost, one must point to Romania's abysmal human rights record: The absence of freedom of the press; the absence of freedom of speech; the requirement that all typewriters be registered as a means of stifling communication; the actively antireligious policies of that government, including the demolition of churches, outright persecution, documented tortures, and killings; and, on a broader plane, arbitrary arrest and the denial of trial.

I am struck by the testimony that we will hear later today from Helsinki Watch, and I quote from their testimony: we "have watched the human rights situation in Romania continue its decline into unremitting misery for the majority of Romanian citizens." All of this has occurred while the U.S. accords special trade benefits to that government.

Moreover, I would point out, Mr. Chairman, that Romania has a brutal intelligence force, the DIE, that works in concert with the KGB. Romania has the world's highest proportion of security personnel to population. Romania is engaged in the active procurement of Western technology for the Soviet Union. Romania's intelligence services have engaged in the random killing of many in the West.

Moreover, the Romanian Government and Romanian intelligence agencies actively train and support the PLO and other terrorist groups.

I have to ask: is this the kind of government we ought to be dealing with in these terms? I think not.

I would point out that this is not a view held only by this Senator, but by an increasing number of Senators and Congressmen, and I believe that we will insist that this no longer be a routine matter, and that, absent some positive improvement and some indication on the part of the administration that the Romanian Government is making some progress, sustained progress in improving human rights and liberalizing its economic policies, and establishing real and not mythic independence from the Soviet Union, we will insist that this economic relationship be terminated.

I thank you, Mr. Chairman, for this opportunity and I thank you for holding these hearings today.

I look forward with great interest to Mr. Palmer and Mr. Derwinski's statement.

Senator **Pressler**. Thank you.

We will now receive an opening statement by Senator Pell.

[Senator Pell's opening statement follows:]

OPENING STATEMENT OF SENATOR PELL

Senator **Pell**. Mr. Chairman, since the mid-1950's the United States has "differentiated" among the nations of Eastern Europe, rewarding those, like Romania and Hungary, that show some independence from Moscow. At the heart of this policy are Western security needs and American interests in promoting human rights within the Soviet bloc. In recent months, the wisdom and benefits of this policy as applied to Romania have become the subject of much controversy.

As a member of this committee and of the United States Helsinki Commission, I have watched the development of United States-

Romania relations carefully. This process has been slow and difficult because of real differences between the two nations. Those differences—in values, ideologies and systems—are reflected blatantly and painfully in Romania's poor overall performance in the area of human rights. Here I am particularly concerned about the cold, unsympathetic treatment accorded the Hungarian minority in Transylvania.

Despite commitments undertaken in the Helsinki Final Act, the Romanian Government represses political opposition and dissent, persecutes human rights and religious activists, imposes severe restrictions on religious freedom, demonstrates insensitivity to the rights of Hungarians and other ethnic minorities, and continues to create obstacles to emigration. These abuses of basic human rights and fundamental freedoms, which are of concern to me and many of my colleagues in Congress, overshadow positive steps taken by the Romanian Government such as the release of Father Georghe Calciu and threaten to destroy the bilateral relationship which has yielded benefits for both the United States and Romania.

Romania's independence, albeit limited, from the Soviet Union in the realm of foreign policy and its willingness to discuss a broad range of issues including human rights with the United States are to its credit. However, these are not a substitute for tangible progress in the human rights area. Without such progress, Romania may lose most-favored-nation tariff treatment and United States-Romania relations may suffer a serious setback.

I look forward to hearing today's witnesses discuss these issues.

Senator **Pressler**. At this point, I shall call on our good friend, Edward J. Derwinski. Mr. Derwinski is Counselor of the Department of State. He serves the Secretary as special adviser and consultant on major problems of foreign policy. He conducts special international negotiations and consultations and provides guidance to appropriate bureaus.

It is in this capacity that he has been asked by the Secretary to take a special interest in United States-Romanian relations. Indeed, he has recently held private conversations with President Ceausescu of Romania.

Mr. Derwinski served in the U.S. House of Representatives for 24 years. He was a senior member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee and the ranking minority member of the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee. He was also a Delegate to the United Nations General Assembly in 1971 and was a U.S. Congressional Representative on the Council of the Interparliamentary Union.

Mr. Derwinski has also served as a delegate to the Republican National Conventions in 1964, 1976, and 1980.

We welcome Mr. Derwinski to the Senate.

At the same time, I will introduce our second witness.

We had hoped that our second witness would be Assistant Secretary of State for European and Canadian Affairs, Rozanne L. Ridgway. Unfortunately, there is an illness in her family and she cannot be with us.

Her testimony, however, will be presented by her Deputy, Mr. Mark Palmer, a Deputy Assistant Secretary.

Mr. Palmer majored in Soviet studies at Yale University, graduating Phi Beta Kappa in 1963. He has served overseas in embassies in India, the Soviet Union, and Yugoslavia.

In the State Department, Mr. Palmer has worked on NATO security affairs, as a member of the Policy Planning Staff, and as principal speech writer to Secretaries Rogers and Kissinger.

In his present position as Deputy Assistant Secretary of State, he is responsible for developing policy and managing our relations with the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, and Yugoslavia.

At this point, I will call on Counselor Derwinski and give him a very warm welcome here.

STATEMENT OF HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI, COUNSELOR, DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Mr. **Derwinski**. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I would ask that my entire statement be placed in the record.

Senator **Pressler**. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. **Derwinski**. With your permission, I will just touch on one or two points, keeping in mind your need to expedite the proceedings today.

I am pleased to be here with Mr. Palmer who, as you have noted, is our expert on Eastern Europe, and we hope that, between the two of us, we answer the questions that you and Senator Trible will pose for us.

Senator **Pressler**. Would you please pull that microphone a little closer? I know that you are a veteran orator, and we all want to be able to hear you.

Mr. **Derwinski**. Certainly.

Is that better?

Senator **Pressler**. Yes. Thank you.

Mr. **Derwinski**. Mr. Palmer and I accompanied Secretary Shultz to Bucharest last December, and we participated in the meetings with President Ceausescu and members of the Foreign Ministry of Romania. We did at that point emphasize not only the concern of the administration, but we pointedly advised Romanian authorities of the special concerns of the Congress over the situation in the areas of human rights and the specific cases that have come to our attention.

In fact, Mr. Chairman, by coincidence, we had received in the department the day before we left a letter from Bob Michel, the House Republican floor leader, on the subject of specific human rights cases.

So, as an example of congressional interest, we carried that communication with us, and the Secretary handed it over personally to Mr. Ceausescu as an example of the pressure that Congress had placed upon us. We tried to make the point to the Romanian authorities in case they weren't receiving an accurate description of the situation here from their embassy, that, in fact, there was very special concern in both the Senate and House over the human rights questions as they have evolved.

I also wish to make the point that Mr. Palmer and I do not come here to defend or make excuses for the Government of Romania. The human rights situation there is bad, and it is as bad as anywhere in Eastern Europe. We certainly make no apologies for that. We do not condone it and we do not disagree with the emphasis that is being placed on the human rights problems.

But we would like to point out that we have worked with the limited influence we have to try to improve the human rights situation in Romania. When I say the "human rights situation," I mean individual cases that have come to our attention, people like Father Calciu, who was released approximately 10 months ago, a current list of cases, many of them called to our attention by the Congress, which Ambassador Kirk regularly calls to the attention of the authorities in Bucharest and which I, in turn, call to the attention of Ambassador Gavrilescu. We go over the specific list as well as the broad issues, the question of availability of Bibles, the issue that you raised regarding the demolition of church buildings, the concern that Senator Trible has over specific denominations that have encountered special problems. All of these things have been raised.

To the degree that we do have leverage and impact on that government, we have tried to use it in a positive fashion.

I should note that tens of thousands of Romanians have been allowed to emigrate to Israel, to West Germany, as well as to the United States, and in that sense they, as individuals, we believe, have benefited from our relations with the Government of Romania.

But we recognize the very debatable nature of those relations. We have emphasized in our testimony the foreign policy initiatives that the Romanian Government has historically taken which, in large part, were the reason MFN was extended to that regime many years ago. That divergence continues to be a pattern in their foreign policy activity.

With that, Mr. Chairman, I would close my testimony and would turn it over to Mr. Palmer at this time.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Derwinski appears in the appendix.]

STATEMENT OF R. MARK PALMER, DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE, BUREAU OF EUROPEAN AND CANADIAN AFFAIRS

Mr. **Palmer**. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Ambassador Ridgway is deeply sorry that she cannot be with us this morning. She has thought a great deal about this issue. She wanted very much to appear before you on it. The prepared statement that you have is very much her statement. She went over it very carefully and made lots of changes.

With your permission, therefore, Mr. Chairman, I would both like to submit it for the record and also to read briefly from it to highlight some of the points that she feels particularly strongly about.

Senator **Pressler**. Without objection.

Mr. **Palmer**. Let me begin with the broad context that you mentioned is the focus of this hearing.

Responsibility for our own national security heads the list of our interests in Eastern Europe, as everywhere. The artificial division of Europe since World War II is inimical to our security interests as well as to our ideals.

Forces for evolutionary change are still at work in East European countries. Each set of circumstances is different, and each poses a different challenge to Soviet hegemony.

Nationalism is a potent force in each country. Each has historic ties with the West.

We believe that the best way to advance U.S. interests in this area is to recognize the diversity of each country's situation.

The kinds of diversity important to us include adoption of distinct and more independent foreign policies; greater political and economic exchange with the non-communist world; greater tolerance of emigration; greater respect for other fundamental human rights; encouragement of a more flexible climate for political expression and economic change; or, experimentation with economic decentralization.

Dealing with Romania poses tough choices and even some moral dilemmas. This is because Romania combines harsh domestic repression with external policy diversity. While we deplore the one, we have chosen to respond positively to the other.

Since the mid-1960's, Romania has sought to describe, within the context of the Warsaw Pact and COMECON, external policies which are consistent with its own view of its national interests: for example, Romania condemned the invasion of Czechoslovakia and criticized the invasions of Afghanistan and Kampuchea.

It is the only Warsaw Pact country which recognizes Israel. It has refused to endorse anti-U.S. name-calling resolutions in the United Nations. It has sought to limit Soviet influence through its relations with China, West Germany, Israel, and the United States.

Its Warsaw pact military participation has been, and remains, more limited than that of any other Pact country. Romanian troops do not participate in Warsaw pact maneuvers outside the country.

The March, 1985 visit to Romania by General Vessey, then Chairman of the Joint Chiefs, was a unique contact between military leaderships of the United States and a Warsaw Pact country.

In contrast, Romania's tough internal regime has aroused deep concern, and with good reason. The situation is deplorable.

The department's 1985 country report on human rights in Romania outlines conditions which outrage American values. There is interference with individual freedoms, including religion, and rigorous suppression of dissent Refusal to contemplate economic reform and excessively severe financial austerity have driven living standards to their lowest level since the mid-1950's. Bucharest is the darkest and coldest capital city in Europe.

It is true that 95 percent of Romanian believers who belong to denominations accepted by the government, including Romanian Orthodox, Catholic, Baptist, and Jewish, are able to worship relatively freely in comparison with the situation in some other communist countries. There is serious persecution, however, of smaller denominations of Christian believers whose rapid growth reflects a substantial religious revival.

This persecution is deeply offensive. In roughly a dozen instances in recent years, the authorities have bulldozed or expropriated places of worship of fundamentalist Protestant congregations, which reject official guidelines or are not accepted by the government. The regime has impeded the importa and domestic printing of Bibles and other religious materials, delayed or obstructed efforts to reconstruct or expand church buildings of all faiths, and conducted press campaigns against religious denominations which are not officially recognized.

Individuals found carrying Bibles have been jailed on fabricated charges, and usually for absurdly long sentences. Prison conditions are inhumane. Religious and political dissenters are subject to beatings.

What has the United States been able to do about this situation?

First, we have used our MFN leverage to secure a distinct improvement in Romanian emigration performance.

Second, annual MFN review has helped us to highlight individual human rights cases. Father Gheorghe Calciu, Romania's leading dissident, and Dorin Tudoran, a dissident author, emigrated to the United States last summer.

We have made religious rights concerns a primary focus of our demarches to the Romanians.

During his December 15 visit to Bucharest, Secretary Shultz reviewed our concerns in detail with the Romanian leadership, and I might add that in the last few weeks, we have worked with two groups of distinguished American religious leaders in encouraging and helping them to have long meetings with Ceausescu to underline the concerns of Christians. In both cases they were Jewish leaders, and they should both be congratulated for taking on the concerns of Christians in Romania.

Results, of course, overall have been modest. Sixteen binational marriage requests, a third of those on the list the Secretary submitted, have been approved. Three dissident Baptist pastors who have been denied the right to preach in Romania will leave for the United States within a month, along with an individual previously jailed for illegal trade union activities.

The question that we now face is whether suspension or denial of MFN would increase or decrease our access.

There is reason to doubt that it will. We are dealing with a tough, unattractive, regime, that has shown no hesitancy in punishing its people to make its arguments.

As you know, the President has until June 3 to submit a determination regarding Romanian MFN for 1986-87. What that determination will be will depend on our ability to achieve progress on the issues of concern to us.

I want to just underline what Counselor Derwinski said, and that is that the President and the Secretary are deeply committed to this process.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

[The prepared statement of Ambassador Ridgway appears in the appendix.]

Senator **Pressler**. Thank you very much.

Senator Cranston has arrived, and if he has an opening statement, I will call on him at this point.

Senator **Cranston**. Thank you very much.

I do not have an opening statement. But I welcome the witnesses today. They are here on a very important topic.

Senator **Pressler**. Since World War II, the United States has pursued a strategy of differentiation toward Eastern Europe, by pursuing differentiated policies toward the various East European states. These policies are intended to reduce East European reliance upon the U.S.S.R., to improve United States bilateral relations, and to enhance the well-being of the citizenry.

My question concerns the long-term U.S. goals of this policy called differentiation? What are they? Some have said that the United States no longer hopes to wean Eastern Europe away from the U.S.S.R., but rather that it hopes to promote a new Europe, one that emphasizes its national character and reduces its alignments with either the United States or the U.S.S.R.

Is this true?

Mr. **Derwinski**. Yes, Mr. Chairman. But I would point out that in the long run it is our hope that some day, somehow, these individual nations will evolve into legitimate democracies instead of the one party states that they presently are.

If you look back, one might say that it was the political-military situation at the end of World War II that brought about what became the Iron Curtain and the captive nations of Eastern Europe, including loss of freedom for the Baltic States, as an example, which the United States has never recognized and will not recognize.

But here we have individual nationalities with histories of their own. In the case of Romania, they are a non-Slavic people, and their inclusion within the Soviet bloc is something, in terms of their historic nationalism, which I am sure is repulsive to the rank and file Romanian citizen.

I think the differentiation policy is based on a fact of life, that these are nations which are different in their national makeup, their background, their history, their attitude. There is the unique role of the Catholic Church in Poland. There is the role played by historic traditional institutions in the other lands. As a result of that, we no longer look at Eastern Europe as some sort of monolithic bloc. We recognize the individual national aspirations and I believe differentiation is really a code word for a practical ability to work with these countries.

You made the comment that we no longer hope to wean them away. What we hope is that they progress in the process of application of the principles of the Helsinki accords and the thirst everywhere that people show for freedom; that someday they, in fact, will be free. That is our long-term goal.

I would yield to Mr. Palmer at this point.

Mr. **Palmer**. The official policy was defined first in 1982 in a national security decision document signed by President Reagan. It stated precisely what Counselor Derwinski has just said, that is, that our long-term goal is to give these countries the rights guaranteed to them under the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which is to say status as full-fledged democracy.

The President proceeded to enunciate that publicly in a speech to the British Parliament in June 1982. I think the best single statement, Mr. Chairman, of our policy on Eastern Europe in this regard was by Vice President Bush, in a speech he gave in Vienna, Austria, in 1983, following his trip to a number of these countries, the Vice President very definitely said that we do not accept either the division of Europe or the dictatorships of Eastern Europe.

We certainly have taken hope from the fact that in former dictatorships like Haiti, as well as the situation in the Philippines, we very dramatically see the possibility of change, of movement toward full-fledged democracy. We have that same aspiration for the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

Senator PRESSLER. So, as I understand it, from my recollection of debates in the House of Representatives eight or ten years ago, we reward Romania with a Most Favored Nation clause for behaving more independently and for doing some of the things you have listed.

Is that basically correct?

Mr. PALMER. Yes; both because of their record on foreign policy and because in the area that Senator Jackson cared so deeply about, the area of emigration, which is the stated purpose of the Jackson-Vanik amendment, we have managed to get 150,000 people out of Romania—close to 1 percent of the population—since 1975.

So we feel that in terms of the Jackson-Vanik amendment, the Romanians record has been relatively good, even though their human rights record in all other respects is really deplorable.

Senator PRESSLER. You mentioned the Jackson-Vanik amendment. Many have said that the Jackson-Vanik amendment to the 1974 Trade Act is too blunt an instrument to provoke major policy change in Romania because it focuses on only one policy reform, that is, on emigration, and that it uses only one sanction, the withdrawal of MFN.

Given Romania's human rights record and 10 years of marginal success, should the United States broaden its criteria for the granting of concessions to Romania? Should ethnic, religious, and cultural persecution all be criteria for denying trade concessions to Romania?

Mr. DERWINSKI. This, Mr. Chairman, is where the question of differentiation again comes in. Mr. Palmer and I, I would emphasize, again, are not here to apologize for or defend the actions of the Government of Romania. But if you look at the entire Eastern European area, you will see variation of religious tolerance or religious abuse, a good part of it depending on the historic nature of the church entities in those countries.

In Romania, the great bulk of the population has membership in the Orthodox Church. The Romanian Orthodox Church historically has been an institution, unlike, for example, the Roman Catholic Church in Poland or the Lutheran Church in East Germany.

As a result, what you have is a national heritage or culture that that Orthodox entity has protected. Yet, never in the history of Romania has the Orthodox Church been unusually militant. This is a historic fact of life.

I make that point only because Orthodox churches have played varying roles in all of Eastern Europe, just as the Roman Catholic Church has.

For example, the Roman Catholic Church has been effective in Poland, but much less effective in Czechoslovakia. These are factors that we try to weigh.

In the specific case of Romania, as Mr. Palmer pointed out, the Romanians have met the conditions of Jackson-Vanik; that is, they have a better record on immigration, including Jewish emigration, than any of the countries in Eastern Europe, far better, for example, than the Soviet Union.

That is a positive factor that we have tried to weigh in our analysis of the overall human rights picture.

Senator **Pressler**. Ambassador Ridgway's statement left me somewhat puzzled, in the sense that all these things that Romania has done that are fairly remarkable for a country inside the Iron Curtain, ranging from recognition of Israel, to receiving General Vessey, to going to the Olympics, to a lot of other things that were listed there, these are countered, on the other hand, by what seems to be a contradiction on religious rights and expression of religion.

Why do the Romanians carry out this persecution? Is it economically motivated, or is it based on religious factors? What is the motivation behind it? Do they feel that a religious revolt would stir up politics? Why such inconsistency?

Mr. **Derwinski**. My personal opinion, Mr. Chairman, is that it reflects the police state mentality. The fact is that all Communist regimes take a very negative view toward religion. In fact, in most Communist regimes, there is a much more methodical suppression of religion, the one exception being, again, Poland. Here, because of the unique strength of the Catholic Church, the postwar governments have not been able to stamp it out.

In the other countries of Eastern Europe, to some degree or another, they have been able to limit and contain the historic nationalistic church structure, and that is what has happened in Romania.

The new wave of religious interest in Romania includes the very active, spirited work of Evangelical Christians, which is a kind of spirit and dynamic concept of religion that probably scares the living heck out of security types.

Mr. **Palmer**. I think we have seen this pattern, Mr. Chairman, in virtually all communist countries. If you look at Nicaragua today, they are doing everything they can to humiliate the church and undermine its position. In Albania, which is the most extreme example, there is not a single church allowed to function or a single minister or priest allowed to exist. China, for a long time, of course, repressed religions very severely, though there has been a slight improvement more recently.

But it is certainly, as Counselor Derwinski indicated, a major objective of all Communist regimes to destroy religion.

Senator **Pressler**. Senator Trible.

Senator **Trible**. I am intrigued by the way that you compare Romania with the worst of nations and suggest, for some reason, that Romania represents something good.

Let's talk for a moment about Romanian independence, Mr. Chairman, and the statement that you presented, Mr. Palmer, on behalf of Ambassador Ridgway will form the basis of my questions, because I think it very expertly sets forth the view of the administration.

We want to talk about that today and explore the points you have raised in that statement.

Much is made of Romanian policy independence. I would suggest to you, my friends, that Romanian independence is increasingly illusory; whereas in 1974, perhaps a case could have been made, that this is simply not the case today.

General Vessey may go to Bucharest, but the reality is that Romanian military units marched with the Warsaw Pact troops in their maneuvers in 1984 and again in 1985.

Romania might walk out of a few key votes at the United Nations, but if you look at the U.N. voting record of the 39th General Assembly plenary session, at all votes cast, Romania voted with the United States only 10.1 percent of the time. That is lower, I would point out, than Hungary, Bulgaria, Poland, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Byelorussia and the Soviet Union.

I would point out further that those nations did not have a very high record of agreement with the United States.

While Romania might send Nadia Comaneci to the West, the Romanian secret service and the KGB are operating in concert in violence of American interests.

The Romanian secret service and the Romanian Government actively pursues Western technology and then ships it on to the Soviet Union.

The Romanian secret service trains, finances, and then provides logistical support to the PLO and other terrorist organizations, and has carried out a number of murders in the West.

Moreover, I would suggest that one could say quite fairly that Romania is highly Sovietized in its character. I would point to the organization of its economy, to the use of forced labor, to the oppression of human rights that we have discussed here today.

Gentlemen, how can we really characterize Romania as being independent?

Mr. **Palmer**. Thank you, Senator.

I think the American people felt—I know President Reagan felt—when the Romanian team walked into the Olympic Stadium in Los Angeles that that was a tangible demonstration of Romanian nationalism and that it was something that left all of us feeling that while you are absolutely right, while the Romanians are members of the Warsaw Pact, that they do many things to disturb us, and while they by no means agree with us on many foreign policy issues, that there is something different about them.

With regard to the Romanian military relationship with the Soviet Union, I think General Vessey was as struck as I have been that the best Romanian military units are their mountain forces, in the Carpathian Mountains, which are a military factor only in terms of the Soviet Union.

So in terms of how the Romanians see their security situation, it is not in terms of marching on the West.

With regard to Romanian troops participating in pact exercises, to the best of my knowledge, Senator, there are no troop maneuvers in which Romanian forces take place together with the Soviet Union.

Mr. Pacepa, who used to be a major figure in the security apparatus in Romania, told us when he first came out that Ceausescu is deeply paranoid about the KGB and that he had some years ago cut off all cooperation with the KGB. I think that is a matter that we could document for you, Senator.

So, while there may be in some areas some liaison with the KGB, it is not to our understanding very extensive.

In regard to technology transfer, we apply to the Romanians the same set of Cocom regulations as for the Soviet Union. We do not send to the Romanians highly sophisticated, militarily relevant technology.

It is our net assessment that they are not a major redistributor of technology coming from the United States legally.

Now, what may go on illegally with regard to any of these countries could be discussed further. But I am not aware, myself, of any extensive intelligence that they have been a major channel of illegally gotten technology, passing on that to the Soviet Union.

Senator **Trible**. I am pleased that you referred to Mr. Pacepa. I would like to quote from an article he wrote in The Wall Street Journal, which I will place in the record with the concurrence of the chairman at this point.

He says, and I quote:

> Continuing to renew Romania's Most Favored Nation status will not make the nation more independent of the Kremlin. Mr. Ceausescu's devotion to Stalinist-Marxism is clear. I have worked with him for many years, and the one thing I came to understand was that his position toward Moscow was never influenced by the United States; rather, it was primarily determined by the nature of his personal relationship with the Kremlin's top man.

Then he goes on to say, and I quote:

> Relations with Moscow are getting closer again, with a large Soviet presence once more in Romania. In addition, secret, bilateral agreements with Moscow, such as those between their two intelligence services for the procurement of Western technology, are sacred obligations to Mr. Ceausescu.

Then he goes on to detail the activities of Romania in support of the PLO and other terrorist organizations, their activities in the West. I would let that speak for itself.

I think, perhaps, given his background and his participation at the highest levels of the Romanian Government, he maybe in a better position to speak than either you or I.

[The article referred to appears in the appendix.]

Senator **Trible**. Let's pursue this, though, if I might.

I was struck by the fact that in your first response to my question about independence, you mentioned that Romania marched with other nations at the Olympics. Yes, that is a grand symbol. But, to the extent that Romania is arguably independent, what does that really count in the world?

Romania is, at best, a marginal actor in international affairs. What real influence does Romania have, for example, in the Middle East, or in arms reduction or in human rights discussions? Romania is a nonplayer.

So, I guess my question to you is this. What does Romania's independence really matter, assuming, if we will, for the sake of this colloquy, that they are independent in some substantial fashion?

Mr. **Derwinski**. Senator, may I comment on this point of independence.

We recognize that Romania is not, in fact, independent. It is a member of the Warsaw Pact. None of the Warsaw Pact states are, in a practical sense, voluntary participants in that structure. If there were a secret plebescite in any country in Eastern Europe, including Romania, East Germany, and Poland, I am sure that the people in a secret ballot would vote to terminate that kind of relationship. But they are not free to do so.

But, within the confines of their Eastern European situation, the Romanians have made some unique foreign policy moves. The fact that they and the People's Republic of China were the two major Communist governmments that came to Los Angeles may have been very calculated on their part to earn goodwill. But the fact is they were there and the others were not.

Senator **Trible**. Yes. But my question moves beyond that.

I grant, for the sake of discussion, that you can enumerate differences of conduct. We are now talking about the value, the significance, of that independence.

That really is the centerpiece of your statement, Mr. Palmer. The administration's statement basically says that our strategic interests should be paramount to moral concerns, or so I read it.

So I am focusing on strategic conerns, and I am saying look, gentlemen, at best Romania is a very marginal player. So what. What is the impact? How are American interests advanced by this semblance of independence about which you speak?

Mr. **Palmer**. I think, clearly, Senator, that you are right. Romania is not a major player. We have been, as a larger policy matter, been encouraging diversity of all Communist countries, large and small. We felt that when China broke away from the Soviet Union, another example of a Communist country that was demonstrating some indepencence, that was strategically important, and clearly, with Romania, it is less strategically important.

The Balkans, although they were the area where World War I broke out, are not as important, for example, as central Europe and the central theater.

However, it was important—I think Presidents Truman and Eisenhower and all of us since then have felt that it was important—when Yugoslavia broke out in 1948. That was militarily important.

Senator **Trible**. But what about Romania?

Mr. **Palmer**. Romania's degree of independence in a military sense, as well as in a political sense, is not as important as Yugoslavia's breaking out, but in terms of a spectrum, it is still there. Exactly what importance you give to that I think is difficult to say in a numerical sense. But Romania has, in terms of military planning, both for the Warsaw pact and for us, some significance, not to be exaggerated.

Could I just say, Senator, that if our testimony came across as saying that our whole approach was governed by the strategic rationale and that this put into very much less importance the moral questions, that is not our view, and the testimony could perhaps have been better written if that is the impression it gives.

We believe that the moral dimension is also critical and that is why we have worked so hard on the criterion that Jackson-Vanik sets forth, which is emigration. We have had some success there, and that is the basis, really, for our position on MFN today.

Senator **Trible**. May I pursue that moral question, Mr. Chairman, even though my time has expired?

Senator **Pressler**. Surely.

Senator **Trible**. Thank you.

Let's talk about this now, gentlemen.

How do you balance the strategic questions which are, at best, marginal—at best marginal? I must say that neither of you has in any acceptable fashion communicated to me what this so-called independence represents to our national interests, other than some vague assertion that, to the extent we can encourage other nations to act independently from the Soviet Union, it is a good thing.

But let's move beyond that.

I would submit that whatever value there is is at best marginal. How then do we balance the strategic interests against the moral interests?

I mean, they fail on the moral side of the equation. You have said that very clearly.

So, the only justification for according trade benefits to this repressive, morally repugnant regime, are strategic. We have just discussed those and we really have been unable, I think, to satisfactorily state the value or the importance of those so-called strategic items.

Let's talk about the moral question.

How should that influence what we do?

Let me give you a for example. The strategic importance of South Africa clearly exceeds that of Romania. They are not even in the same ballpark. And yet, not only does South Africa not have most-favored-nation status, but we have imposed sanctions. I supported that effort. Very slowly, the administration came around to that same position.

In the case of South Africa, we have judged that the moral considerations are paramount and that they must prevail, even though there are huge strategic considerations that argue against what we have done.

If that is the case in South Africa, a nation of immense strategic importance, why not in Romania, a nation that is not a major player, that is at best a marginal actor in the world scene?

Mr. **Derwinski**. In part, Senator, we are dealing, again, as Mr. Palmer and I have emphasized, with the limitations of our policy in Eastern Europe. We are dealing with captive nations, with people who, against their will, have been held captive for all this time. We recognize that as a fact of life.

What we have tried to do is to use our limited leverage, as our testimony indicated, to push for freer emigration and for the resolution of specific human rights cases.

The human rights abuses in South Africa have a much different motivation from that behind the human rights abuses in Romania. The human rights abuse in Romania arises because it is a Communist dictatorship. No Communist government practices our concept of human rights. The South African issue is a racial issue. As a result, I think we approach the two situations of necessity, looking at this essential difference.

Senator **Trible**. Are you saying that we have two standards of morality, that we apply a different moral requirement on the free nations of the world than we do on the Soviet nations of the world in shaping our policy?

Mr. Derwinski. No; it is not a matter of moral requirement.

We look at the limitations that these governments face, these governments in Eastern Europe. It is our long-term goal, that somehow in the process of trade, cultural relations, sports relations, that gradually, methodically, they will be able to reach a point where somehow the forces of world pressure, political pressure, moral pressure, will permit them to take that step away from Soviet control that we know, if given the free choice, they would take.

Right now they do not have that choice.

Senator Trible. So you are saying that moral considerations should dictate our policy in South Africa, but moral considerations should not dictate our policy in Romania?

Mr. Derwinski. Moral considerations do dictate our choice. That is why we bring pressure to bear on the individual human rights cases. That is why Secretary Shultz put our full concerns over human rights directly to Mr. Ceausescu.

Senator Trible. Are you saying to me, Mr. Derwinski, that most-favored-nation status can be justified on the moral record of Romania?

Mr. Derwinski. No; the most favored nation——

Senator Trible. That is absolutely inconsistent with a statement presented by the department which said that they flunk on morality, but that our strategic interests are paramount.

Mr. Derwinski. I think we made the point earlier that at the time most-favored-nation status was granted Romania, it was basically because of the foreign policy initiatives they had taken in the early 1970's that we felt made this a practical step.

For example, I was with Senator Roth in Bucharest in 1973. We were cochairmen of the interparliamentary delegation. They were hosting a meeting. We met with Mr. Ceausescu who went to great pains to explain why he did not allow Soviet troops in Warsaw Pact exercises to use Romanian territory, why he distanced himself from the Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia. These were foreign policy decisions that they had made prior to MFN. And there has been a pattern of that.

That was the basis at the time for that administration's decision. That, I believe, was in the early days of the Ford administration.

Senator Trible. Well, this, after all, is 1986. History is an important inquiry and it does give you some sense, I guess, of how to judge today and tomorrow. But we are talking about 1986. We are talking about the policies, the current policies, of one of the most repressive regimes in the world to which we are granting special benefits.

Mr. Palmer. If I could, Senator, I think the analogy you are drawing is an important one and an accurate one, between South Africa and Romania.

I sat with Secretary Shultz recently when he talked about South Africa, and he feels, as does the President, under some pressure over our policy of engagement in South Africa. The administration feels that is the right policy, that we can help to bring about a better process of change in South Africa by being there, by having American corporations there, by all of the various involvements that we have.

I may very well be wrong, but it is my understanding that South Africa does still have MFN status—but that is not my field, and I would like to take that.

Senator TRIBLE. No; you are right. I was told after I made that assertion that I was incorrect by my own staff. So you are precisely right.

However, we have imposed economic sanctions——

Mr. PALMER. Yes, we have.

Senator TRIBLE [continuing]. Which renders the thesis of that question valid, I think.

Mr. PALMER. We entirely agree that if you are judging Romania just on moral grounds, it flunked. However, we do have to worry about emigration.

We have, for example, 4,000 American cases in Romania whom we want to get out. There are about 285,000 West German cases that are backed up. There are still all of the concerns of the Israelis. I think those other governments share our view that that is also an important moral objective, taking care of all of these emigration cases and being able to use the leverage we have to work on the high priorities that we have to get Bibles imported into Romania, to get a better situation for the Nazarenes and the Jehovah's Witnesses, which our Ambassador now is pushing very hard on Ceausescu.

We have a set of objectives which we want to achieve by this summer, if at all possible. That is why I was very consciously, purposefully, ambiguous about where we are going to come out this summer in terms of the administration's position on MFN.

I want to underline that no decision has been made by the administration on whether to recommend again whether to have the President decide to go ahead in that direction or not.

That is something we are all going to have to stay in touch on and we are going to have to watch and see what happens in Bucharest.

Senator TRIBLE. Let me just conclude by saying that I have some additional questions I would like to pursue on a second round. My Chairman has been most indulgent. Senator Helms is here and I know he wants to add questions or observations as well.

I know that you feel deeply about these issues, as I do. I welcome your assertion that this is an open question. If nothing more, this is no longer a routine kind of proposition.

I think it is, therefore, important that Romania demonstrate some good faith and some progress about these issues about which we are concerned. My colleagues and I will keep the heat on you to in turn enter into tough negotiations and insure as much progress as possible. It is by that progress that this question will be finally judged.

Mr. Chairman, thank you.

Senator PRESSLER. Thank you.

Senator Helms.

Senator HELMS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Chairman, I have served with Ed Derwinski in the Congress—Ed in the House and me in the Senate.

I'm not going to ask you whether you feel a little bit uncomfortable coming here this morning.

Mr. **Derwinski.** Oh, I do.

Senator **Helms.** Good. Diogenes can put down his lantern, now, and we can get down to business.

I believe you responded to a line of questions from Senator Trible about the support that Romania does not give to the United States in the United Nations, is that correct?

Mr. **Derwinski.** [Nods affirmatively.]

Senator **Helms.** Isn't it about 16.3 percent of the time that they vote with us?

Mr. **Derwinski.** I don't have those statistics with me.

Senator **Helms.** Well, I do, and that's what it is.

They are not much better than Cuba.

Senator Trible, I believe you covered the question of Romania supplying aid to the Sandinistas in Nicaragua.

You did agree that that is what is going on?

Mr. **Derwinski.** That was not raised this morning.

Senator **Trible.** No; we did not raise it.

Senator **Helms.** Well, then, I will raise it.

Is that correct?

Mr. **Derwinski.** I believe the Romanians have supplied small amounts of economic assistance—trucks and spare parts for instance—to Nicaragua, but not cash or weapons.

Senator **Helms.** How about Syria, Libya, and Iran? Isn't there direct military aid from Romania to those countries?

Mr. **Derwinski.** To Libya?

Senator **Helms.** Yes, and Syria and Iran.

Mr. **Derwinski.** Probably Lib sales, the same thing to Iran. I would just question your word "aid." They probably make whatever commercial sales they can to both those governments on a basis of opportunity.

Senator **Helms.** Well, Ed—and I am being informal because you and I have been friends for a long time—I am just puzzled, as is Senator Trible, as to why MFN should be bestowed upon a country like Romania. I hear what you are saying, but I just can't buy it.

How many Soviet personnel are in Romania?

Mr. **Derwinski.** In comparison to, say, Poland, East Germany, and Czechoslovakia, relatively few, because there is not a military presence. But in terms of their economic relationship, they are tied into the Soviet economic bloc. About roughly half their trade is with the countries of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. So that does create an economic presence.

May I add, Senator, that obviously I am less than pleased at having to come up and get a new label as the champion defender of Romania. But I did look back at my own personal record when I was in the House, and I found that, starting in the mid-1970's, when MFN was granted, I did testify before the Ways and Means Committee in favor of MFN.

Senator **Helms.** I'm sorry to hear that——

Mr. **Derwinski.** On the issue of the specific foreign policy differentiations that the Romania Government had made. I think that is still a valid point.

In addition, early on, in the flow of trade, there was a substantial U.S. advantage, which has changed over the last few years, basically for reasons of their economic policies.

The point we have tried to make is that we make no apologies for the domestic operation of the Romanian Government. Mr. Ceausescu runs a cult of personality. He is one of the most autocratic, dogmatic people of that type. He is a very difficult person for us to deal with. Yet, at the same time, we have been able to use the MFN leverage to promote freer emigration and individual cases where we would not have been successful in helping people leave Romania and reach the West unless we had this limited leverage. That, frankly, is the basis for our position.

Senator **Helms**. Let me put it this way, Ed. You and I are not going to fall out about this. We can agree to disagree, and we do.

I had the Ambassador from Romania in my office not long ago. What an arrogant man. You know, he doesn't give a damn about what we think.

A former ambassador to Romania told me with respect to the Soviet personnel in Romania that there are hundreds of Soviet advisers at most of the Romanian factories. Energy projects are being jointly constructed with the Soviets. Soviet troop transit is allowed, and that sort of thing. Furthermore, we have worked and worked in my office on the persecution of clergymen in Romania.

Correct me if I am wrong, but wasn't there an instance where Bibles were shipped into Romania and they were converted into toilet tissue?

Senator **Trible**. That's true.

Senator **Helms**. Now here is my friend, Ed Derwinski, whom I love and respect, and you are up here saying let's give them MFN.

I understand that when you become a part of the State Department bureaucracy, you have to do what they say. But this does not even make good nonsense.

Senator Trible, if you need me to help you on your bill, I volunteer——

Senator **Trible**. Thank you, sir.

Senator **Helms** [continuing] Except that I want to modify it not to read 6 months, but 6 years. That will take it past the time, maybe, that I will be in the Senate.

Ed, I am glad to see you.

Mr. **Derwinski**. Senator, let me say that you actually help us by keeping up this pressure and this criticism. We have directly taken up this Bible issue. In fact, when Secretary Shultz was there in December, he pointedly made that a key issue with Mr. Ceausescu, the need of the Romanian Government to allow either proper importation, volumewise, of Bibles, or to have them print the Bibles and make them available to the different denominations who have a special need.

We have hammered away at this point. In fact, we have, I guess you would call it "unofficial" word that the Patriarch of the Orthodox Church, who is, in fact, a loyal participant in the government structure——

Senator **Trible**. He's paid by the government.

Mr. **Derwinski**. That's true. That's true of most of the religious people there.

Senator **Trible**. It does kind of make him a part of the structure, doesn't it?

Mr. **Derwinski.** That's one of the factors of Eastern Europe. That is historical. That preceded the present situation.

He acknowledged a need for meeting the proper demand for Bibles.

Senator, we are not dealing with a bunch of altar boys there. We are dealing with a very harsh government. We are just trying to do the best we can to alleviate the problems that the Romanian people suffer from their own government.

Senator **Helms.** Well, just get the "quid" before the "quo." I don't want you to be an altar boy for them, either. That's all I'm saying.

Let's see something, some good faith. I have not seen it yet.

There is a farm meeting with Bob Dole that I have to go to. It is good to see both of you.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator **Pressler.** Thank you, Senator Helms.

If I may, I shall ask two or three more questions and then will submit the remainder of my questions for the record.

I hope, as a result of this hearing, that a great deal of pressure will be put on the Romanian Government during the next few months to make them aware of how strongly we all feel about what is happening in terms of religious persecution in Romania. I hope that, somehow, the Romanians will thus alter their policies.

In Ambassador Ridgway's statement, she listed a number of things that Romania has done that are unusual for a Communist bloc country.

Would you go through those again? I think they appear on page 4 or 5.

Mr. **Palmer.** Is this with regard to foreign policy, Senator?

Senator **Pressler.** Yes, with regard to foreign policy. Just quickly list the top four or five items.

Mr. **Palmer.** Yes. They defied the Soviets over the invasion of Czechoslovakia, Afghanistan, and Cambodia.

Senator **Pressler.** How did they do that?

Mr. **Palmer.** Well, they came out and openly criticized them. They did not join in the actual military movement against Czechoslovakia in 1968, and said they would resist any similar move against them.

Senator **Trible.** Did that discourage the Soviet actions in those areas?

Mr. **Palmer.** No, it didn't. You are right, Senator. This is not a big, heavyweight action.

But in trying to decide on the margins what to do, it is something that we think we ought to take into account.

They were the first country, and the only country, now, to recognize Israel within the Warsaw Pact.

On the name-calling resolutions at the United Nations, they do have a better record than any other in name-calling of the United States, a better record than any other Warsaw Pact country.

I will take, Senator Trible, your concern about their overall voting record. We want to look at that.

They worked with us closely at the time we were trying to improve our relations with China. Romania was quite active in that process.

So they have, in a number of these areas, done things that are on the margin of some interest to us.

Senator **Pressler**. How does Romania's foreign policy compare to the foreign policies of Yugoslavia and Hungary? We give Most Favored Nation treatment to Hungary. Has Hungary done some of these similar things in foreign policy?

Mr. **Palmer**. No.

Hungary goes right down the line with the Soviet Union on foreign policy.

Now Hungary has, in our estimation, warranted Most Favored Nation because their domestic practices are considerably better than the Romanians. So there are these two dimensions that we have had to look at, foreign policy independence and domestic liberalization. The Hungarians get it on that second criterion.

Senator **Pressler**. Why does Yugoslavia get Most Favored Nation?

Mr. **Palmer**. The Yugoslavs are slightly better in both regards. They are both more independent in foreign policy than the Romanians and their domestic policy is vastly better than the Romanians. This is not to say that it is a democracy, of course.

Senator **Pressler**. They do have Most Favored Nation treatment?

Mr. **Palmer**. Yes.

Senator **Pressler**. I am trying to get to the criteria that you must use in your decisionmaking process.

Is the President's decision to grant a waiver based upon an absolute criterion? If not, what factors are considered in determining the decision? For example, if we judge Romania's policies to be sufficiently independent of the U.S.S.R. in some of these things that we have just mentioned, does that mean that Romania gets the waiver, irrespective of its emigration performance?

If not, how much does "independence" count? Do we average performance on those two criteria in order to assess whether or not to go for the waiver?

Mr. **Palmer**. The major criterion that we have been using in recent years is the question of emigration, not foreign policy independence. That was, as Counselor Derwinski said, in the mid-1970's, when we got started in this, a major element then. But we have been, in recent years, measuring it primarily on the grounds of whether or not they were allowing people to emigrate, because that is what Jackson-Vanik requires.

Senator **Pressler**. Romania does do that. Is that correct?

Mr. **Palmer**. Yes, in very large numbers.

For example, 1984 was the best single year, and we had, I have forgotten the exact numbers, over 20,000 people emigrate in that year.

Senator **Pressler**. So, if we could boil this hearing down to one sentence, or to the current struggle for the soul of the State Department or the President, it would be question of whether we should change the criterion for MFN from emigration to religious freedom, or to freedom in general. Would that be a fair assessment of the question that is before us?

Mr. **Palmer**. Well, that is certainly a question.

We feel that we can operate within the legislation as it is now written; that we have made effective use of Jackson-Vanik for other than emigration purposes, and we intend, over the next few months, between now and June, to continue to do that.

So our position is that there is no requirement to change the legislation.

Senator **Pressler**. One of the arguments advanced this morning is that Romania maintains a stance somewhat independent of Moscow. Yet, it appears that the Communist countries' share of Romania's foreign trade rose to 53.5 percent in 1983 from 35.7 percent in 1981. Absolute statistics for 1984 are difficult to acquire. However, the figures at least show that imports from the Communist bloc rose more rapidly than those from the West.

Do you disagree with these statistics? If so, how and why? Should this shift be grounds for denial for Most Favored Nation? Why or why not?

Mr. **Palmer**. The major reason for the percentage shift was not because there was an absolute increase in Romania's trade with the Soviet Union, but because there was a decrease in Romania's trade with the West. That was primarily due to Ceausescu's, in our view, mistaken decision to repay his debts to the West at a more rapid rate than either the IMF, the World Bank or individual governments thought made sense.

He has driven his people to a level of austerity in trying to repay these debts which has, in fact, somewhat shifted the percentage of trade with the East and the West.

However, the Romanians are still the only Warsaw Pact country that has approximately 50 percent of their trade with noncommunist countries. We know that that is an objective of Ceausescu's to sustain, that he does not want to become more dependent upon the Soviet Union economically.

Senator **Pressler**. I shall ask the remainder of my questions for the record.

Senator Pell has submitted a question regarding the Napoleon Fodor case, the former Romanian Commercial Counselor in New York. They have refused to allow his wife and son to leave Romania and to join him in the United States.

I shall ask Senator Pell's question for the record.

[The information referred to follows:]

Fodor Case

Question. Senator Pell has long been interested in the case of Napoleon Fodor, the former Romanian Commercial Counselor in New York who defected in 1982. Since his defection, the Romanian Government has refused to allow his wife and son to leave Romania and join him in the United States. On behalf of Senator Pell, I would like to ask what efforts the State Department is making in the Fodor case.

Answer. Senator Pell's interest in resolving the Fodor case is shared by senior officials of the State and Commerce Departments, the White House, former President Nixon, and leading U.S. businessmen engaged in trade with Romania.

Senior Department officials including Secretary Shultz have repeatedly raised the Fodor case in discussions with Romanian officials over the last several years. We are continuing to urge the Romanian Government to permit the reunification of the Fodor family, which has been separated for nearly four years.

Department officials are frequently in touch with Napoleon Fodor. An officer of embassy most recently talked with Mrs. Fodor in Bucharest on March 18. She continues to press for passport approval, is employed in a medical laboratory, and the Fodors' 21 year-old son is in his second year of university studies.

We will continue to press this matter with the Romanian Government at all levels until the case is resolved.

Mr. **Derwinski**. Senator, may I add that that case is at the top of our list. We have heard from a number of Senators, including Senator Pell. We have made a special point in the list we present to the Government that this particular case, family reunification case, is at the top of our list.

Senator **Pressler**. I yield to my colleague, Senator Trible.

Senator **Trible**. Thanks, Mr. Chairman.

Let me, if I may, with your concurrence, submit for the record at this point a report to Congress on the voting practices in the United Nations, prepared by the United States Department of State, submitted pursuing to public law on May 20, 1985, which sets forth the abysmally poor voting record of Romania.

[The information referred to follows:

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE—REPORT TO CONGRESS ON VOTING PRACTICES IN THE UNITED NATIONS

(Submitted Pursuant to Public Law 98-151, and Public Law 98-164, May 20, 1985)

ROMANIA

Member: Eastern European Group, Warsaw Pact
Percent Coincidence with the U.S., All Plenary Votes: 10.1
Votes on Ten Key Issues: 1 agree, 0 disagree, 9 abstain/absent

Key issues	*Vote*
1. Withdrawal of foreign forces from Kampuchea (Y)	A
2. Withdrawal of foreign forces from Afghanistan (Y)	A
3. Motion to accept Israeli credentials (Y)	Y
4. U.S.-sponsored resolution on chemical and bacteriological weapons [1st Committee vote] (Y)	A
5. U.S. amendment to delete criticism of U.S. from resolution on military activities [4th Committee vote] (Y)	A
6. Nigerian motion not to consider U.S. amendments to resolutions on apartheid ["gag rule"] (N)	A
7. U.S. motion to declare the Middle East an important question (Y)	A
8. Human rights in El Salvador: request for an end to foreign military assistance (N)	A
9. Construction of Economic Commission for Africa [ECA] Conference Center in Addis Ababa [5th Committee vote] (N)	A
10. Middle East resolution 39/146A: Vote to retain paragraph 10, which criticizes U.S. policy (N)	A

Y=Yes; N=No; A=Abstention or absence; ()=U.S. vote

U.N. VOTING RECORD, 39th General Assembly

All UNGA Plenary Votes—Percent Coincidence with U.S. Votes (Yes/No)

Western Europe:	
United Kingdom	82.1
Federal Republic Germany	80.0
Belgium	76.6
Luxembourg	6.0
Netherlands	74.5
Italy	72.8
France	72.1
Iceland	60.4
Norway	59.6
Denmark	58.1
Portugal	56.2
Ireland	47.6
Spain	47.6
Sweden	41.9
Finland	39.4

Austria	38.7
Turkey	35.0
Greece	27.6
Malta	19.0
Group average	55.4
No affiliation: Israel	88.5
Eastern Europe:	
Hungary	13.3
Ukraine	13.3
Bulgaria	13.2
Byelorussia S.S.R.	13.2
Czechoslovakia	13.2
German Democratic Republic	13.2
Poland	13.2
U.S.S.R.	13.2
Romania	10.1
Yugoslavia	8.8
Albania	3.9
Group average	12.1

Senator TRIBLE. Second, I would submit the State Department's own country report on human rights, which details political killings, torture, arbitrary arrests, denials of trial, lack of civil rights, denial of basic religious freedom, and so on. I would submit that for the record, if I may.

[The information referred to appears in the appendix.]

Senator TRIBLE. Finally, just to round this thing out, I would like also to include another document of our Government, the U.S. International Trade Commission Report on International Practices and Agreements Concerning Compulsory Labor, which indicates that Romania, among other countries, relies on forced labor to do its dirty work.

Senator PRESSLER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

[The information referred to appears in the appendix.]

Senator TRIBLE. Now, let's talk about emigration, gentlemen.

The numbers are better. I will submit those for the record, and I am in the process of getting those from my office at this point.

But, as I recall, 10 years ago, 300 or 400 people emigrated to the United States a year. Now we are talking about 3,000 or 4,000. Emigration to Israel has increased, although in the last year or so it has declined.

There has been, I guess, significant emigration to Germany, too.

But let's talk about not just the numbers, but the process, the procedure. Let me quote, if I may, again, from testimony of the Helsinki Watch, from their statement that will be presented at some point today.

I quote:

> There are many obstacles on the road to emigration. The application process is long, complicated, and arbitrary. Prospective emigrants are sometimes prevented from applying to emigrate for months or years on procedural grounds constructed by the State. More important, prospective emigrants risk almost certain reprisals: official harassment, public denunciation, demotion, loss of employment, loss of housing, loss of public services, and often arrest. Delays of 2 to 3 years in obtaining a passport are not uncommon.
>
> If, as so often is the case, a person is fired from his or her job after applying to emigrate, charges of parasitical conduct can be brought under Decree 153-1970. Conviction under this decree can result in imprisonment or collective labor. A person is assigned to a particular place of work often far from his or her house, with greatly reduced wages. Permission from the local militia is required in order to leave that assigned area.

In addition to the sanctions mentioned above,

I would add parenthetically "as if that were not enough

Incidents of bribes and forced payments, often in hard currency, continue to be reported. Applicants must also sell all their property at fixed and substantially lower government rates, and they are not permitted to take any funds out of the country.

That is the end of the quotation.

Can you comment on those emigration policies?

Mr. DERWINSKI. First, Senator, let me point out that if you look at the figures of the remaining Jewish population in Romania, it is now under 25,000. Many of those people are senior citizens who, at this point, probably would prefer to just live their lives out in Romania. That, of course, is a personal decision.

So it's just a matter that the numbers are working down in such a fashion that, despite the relative freedom with which the Jewish emigrants have left Romania, there just are not that many people remaining who want to migrate to Israel.

Senator TRIBLE. I was not trying to diminish the numbers. I was simply indicating that that is the reality.

Mr. DERWINSKI. It is a diminishing population.

Senator TRIBLE. I think you are right. The Jewish community is smaller, it is older, and probably most people who have wanted to go have had a chance to do so.

Mr. DERWINSKI. The other significant group is the Germans. There, the Federal Republic of Germany has a special interest. To our knowledge, they are satisfied with the flow of the German population from Romania.

In our particular case, we have been able to work down the backlog. We have reached an agreement, in fact just last summer, as a result of a series of meetings with the Government of Romania, which has basically permitted us to effectively work down our backlog as well as to properly control, according to U.S. procedures, the emigration of Romanians to the United States.

Also, to our knowledge, at the present time, if a person is eligible, we so notify the Romanian Government that they are eligible for a visa or other United States documentation. They are not, at that point, arbitrarily suspended from their place of employment. They are not suspended and are not rationed. That was the case a number of years back. But, we have now, to our satisfaction, cleared that up.

Senator TRIBLE. So, it is your statement that the assertion of this Helsinki Watch group is in error?

Mr. DERWINSKI. It would depend——

Senator TRIBLE. And that these risks are no longer part of the process, that these reprisals do not occur: official harassment, public denunciation, demotion, loss of employment, loss of housing, loss of public services, arrest?

Are you telling me that you have resolved those problems?

Mr. DERWINSKI. I don't know when their report was issued and what they were studying at the time.

Senator TRIBLE. This is their statement of February 26, 1986, to be submitted to us today.

Mr. **Derwinski**. We have reached agreement with the Romanian Government last July. It took a couple of months for the pieces to fall into place. It has worked satisfactorily so far as our embassy in Bucharest is concerned.

It is also a situation which we monitor very closely. We have seen no pattern of this harassment continuing, although, as I said, it did exist prior to the summer of 1985.

Senator **Trible**. Mr. Derwinski, I was recently involved in helping a constituent get a member of his family out of Romania. It came as a result of my asking the State Department to make a representation on this individual's behalf. But I will tell you that it also resulted from the paying of bribes, and that this individual had also lost her job and was denied a whole host of benefits.

So I am just not sure that your statements today reflect reality. I really would like you to have your people get out of Bucharest and find out what indeed is the case.

Mr. **Derwinski**. Well, as a matter of policy, our people regularly call on all sorts of Romanians—dissidents, people who are eligible—and they advise them that they are eligible for entry into the United States. Our reports clearly show that there has been very, very substantial alleviation of the pattern of abuse that you have referred to. It has come down dramatically.

It has been just 6 months that we have had this agreement. You have to allow for a few complications, I suppose. But they are working it out and we are quite satisfied that it is a much better procedure that is in existence now than 6 months or a year ago.

I might also add, if I may, Senator, that we have not received specific complaints of bribery or any special financial coercion.

You may recall that about 3 or 4 years ago the Romanian Government adopted what I guess we could basically call an "education 'or a sort of "head 'tax. We protested very vigorously. We pointed out that this would be a violation of United States law and procedures. They did not, to my knowledge, ever enforce that in emigration to the United States.

We have no record of the application of that tax.

Is there anything you wanted to add on that, Mark?

Mr. **Palmer**. No, thank you.

Senator **Trible**. OK.

We don't need to pursue that any further. But there certainly is ample evidence of continuing complications, obstacles, and risk imposed on those who wish to emigrate, notwithstanding your assurances that things are better or at least getting better.

So I would hope that you would continue to monitor that aggressively.

Mr. **Derwinski**. We will ask our embassy for an immediate update. I will get it, just to be sure that they are on top of it and that in fact we are accurate.

Senator **Trible**. That would be great.

[The information referred to follows:]

REVISED EMIGRATION PROCEDURES

The U.S. Embassy in Bucharest has discussed the implementation of the agreement on revised emigration procedures with Romanian authorities on many occasions since the agreement began working in August 1985. Romanian authorities have made it clear that they do not intend to encourage emigration, but that they will carry out the agreement. In the intervening months, as the changes have been implemented by local authorities in all parts of Romania, it has become clear that the new procedures have prevented many hardships for those who want to leave Romania for the U.S. Even so, new procedures cannot solve all the problems which arise in emigration from a communist country to the U.S.

The basic purpose of the revised procedures was to delay the completion of predeparture obligations of intending emigrants—giving up housing, jobs, schooling and other social benefits—until after the U.S. Embassy determined that the emigrants were eligible to enter the U.S. This is designed not only to minimize the time between these steps and actual departure, but also to prevent persons not qualified for U.S. entry from losing their Romanian rights and benefits. The concept is working well, but not perfectly, for those Romanians who received approval to emigrate after the procedures went into effect. The greatest hardships continue among those who, before the new procedures went into effect, gave up their jobs, housing and other benefits in order to receive Romanian passports with exit visas, and then discovered they were not eligible to enter the United States. The two distinct groups are described below.

ROMANIANS HOLDING PASSPORTS BEFORE AUGUST 1985

There is an uncertain number, probably over 1,000 of would-be Romanian emigrants to the U.S. who relinquished their jobs, housing, and other benefits in return for passports before August last year, and were then found either ineligible to enter the U.S., or required to wait for years until they could be admitted. Most of them still want to emigrate, and hope the U.S. or some other country will take them. Accordingly, they are not pressing the Romanian Government to be re-integrated into Romanian society, and they do not want to give up their passports.

We have urged the Romanian Government to restore their rights and benefits, explaining that the U.S. cannot accept these people, since they do not currently qualify for U.S. immigrant visas or other travel documentation.

As the outstanding passports with exit visas for emigration to the U.S. have expired, the Romanian Government has replaced them with Certificates of Approval to emigrate (Adeverintas). So few people have sought re-integration into Romanian society that we are unsure whether or not they have been successful in regaining apartments, jobs and other amenities. Most apartments and jobs have of course long since been filled, and many would-be emigrants are not pressing for them because they would prefer to emigrate.

EMIGRATION UNDER NEW PROCEDURES

Since reaching the agreement on revised emigration procedures, the Romanian Government has issued Certificates of Emigration approval for the U.S., without requiring divestiture of jobs (with exceptions, see below), housing or other benefits. If the would-be emigrant is found ineligible for U.S. immigration, or must wait for years (for example, for a fifth-preference priority date to become current), the intending emigrant is in a much better situation than he would have been before August 1985. If the emigrant is qualified to enter the U.S., he can proceed with the divestiture in the expectation that he will receive both Romanian and U.S. approval to travel.

The process by which an emigrant uproots himself and family members to emigrate from Romania is still not painless. Even an expressed intention to emigrate can cost a Romanian official his job if it is "sensitive," and this term is typically rather broadly defined. Emigration can even affect relatives in "sensitive" positions. Most persons processed under the new procedures have, however, kept their original jobs until the last step of picking up their passports. In the Embassy's view, this is a substantial improvement, already obvious in the first few months of implementing the new agreement, and we look forward to further improvement.

Senator **Trible**. Let me just bring this to a close, if I may, Mr. Chairman, by asking just one or two more quick questions.

When was it that we as a go started focusing on the question of Christian rights, the denial to the Christian community of the right to exercise their faith?

Mr. DERWINSKI. I think in direct proportion to the complaints that we received not only from Members of Congress but spokesmen for religious denominations.

Senator TRIBLE. The question was not how. I understand how the free governments work. The question was when.

Mr. DERWINSKI. I thought I answered that. It was in direct proportion to the specific cases and the broader policy applications that were called to our attention.

Senator TRIBLE. When? When, Ed?

Mr. DERWINSKI. Over the last few years. The last few years. This has been something which has slowly evolved as the incidents in Romania took place.

Now, the specific cases, such as demolition of churches, whether they were in rural areas or part of the grandiose urban renewal projects in Bucharest, those were called to our attention by individual denominations, and through our embassy. You do recall, Senator, that we did have an ambassador who was most alert to that kind of issue and who worked hard at that very subject.

Senator TRIBLE. Well, I would hope the State Department would begin again to focus on these issues as they relate to the Christian community as well as to all communities of believers.

I think it is fair to say that our Jewish friends have been much more effective and forceful in speaking up for their brethren than has the Christian community. But the right to believe in God and freely exercise one's faith is indivisible. To the extent that Jewish rights or Christian rights are diminished, all of our rights are diminished.

So I would hope that we would continue to press whenever we can for rights, religious rights, across the board. I would hope that this experience might very well mobilize Christian believers to be more attentive to the plight of their brothers and sisters, if you will, around the globe, because the only way to influence the policies of one's government and focus the attention of the State Department is to stand up and speak out.

I thank you for being here and I thank you for your responses. I acknowledge your good faith and your professional competence and your best efforts to tackle some of these difficult problems. I wish you well.

But gentlemen, rhetoric is not going to satisfy this Congress any longer. We want to see positive action. We want to see real progress on the part of Romania. Absent that, we are going to fundamentally change the character of our relationship with the government of Romania.

That is the message I want you to take to the Secretary of State, if you will be so kind to do so.

Mr. DERWINSKI. We shall do so.

Senator PRESSLER. Gentlemen, I have just one final question regarding the perilous state of the Romanian economy.

If there is a denial of MFN, how would that affect internal stability? There are some reports of serious citizen unrest in Romania due to the acute energy shortage and the worsening economic situation. What is really happening with the Romanian economy?

Mr. PALMER. I think the percent both of their Gross National Product and also their trade which would be involved in a denial or suspension of MFN is small enough that it would be difficult to see any consequence in terms of the internal stability. It would, of course, have some effect on what is already a terrible standard of living for the people. There would be a further worsening in terms of the way people live in Romania. But it is already so bad that one cannot really say that it would be that much worse. It would be somewhat worse.

There has to be a question in all of our minds of how long this can go on. The Romanian people have been extraordinarily patient. Other peoples in Eastern Europe clearly would not have tolerated this for this length of time.

Senator **Pressler**. One final question.

Will the decision for the MFN waiver be made by the Secretary of State or by the President. Of course, it will ultimately be made by the President; all decisions are within the administration. However, will a memorandum at some point go forward from the Secretary of State to the President? Will others go forward from the Secretary of the Treasury and others? This will be a presidential decision?

Mr. **Palmer**. Yes. It is every year.

Senator **Pressler**. I thank you very much.

Mr. **Derwinski**. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. **Palmer**. Thank you, sir.

Senator **Pressler**. I do have some additional questions for the record.

At this point I would like to call forward the second panel, consisting of Hon. Joseph Dennin, Assistant Secretary for International Economic Policy, the International Trade Administration (ITA), of the U.S. Department of Commerce; and Hon. James M. Murphy, Jr., Assistant U.S. Trade Representative for Europe and the Mediterranean, Office of the U.S. Trade Representative.

We are fortunate to hear from these two excellent witnesses on the issue of United States-Romanian bilateral trade. Mr. Dennin, who will speak first, directs the Commerce unit, ITA's International Economic Policy, which employs some 200 country desk officers to advise both government policy makers and interested members of the private sector on trade and investment opportunities around the world. His office is also responsible for crosscutting issues, such as planning for a new trade round.

Prior to his present appointment, Mr. Dennin served in International Economic Policy as Deputy Assistant Secretary for Africa, the Near East, and South Asia, and as Deputy Assistant Secretary for Finance, Investment, and Services.

Previous to that, Mr. Dennin practiced law in New York and held positions in the Justice Department, the U.S. International Trade Commission and at the White House.

We welcome Mr. Dennin.

Our second witness on trade issues, Dr. James Murphy, is an Assistant U.S. Trade Representative for Bilateral Affairs, for Europe, the Middle East, and the Mediterranean. He is responsible for the overall coordination of U.S. trade policy with respect to those areas of the world.

Dr. Murphy previously served as Assistant Trade Representative for Bilateral Affairs, Japan and Europe. Prior to that, he served as

Deputy Assistant United States Trade Representative for Bilateral Affairs, Japan and Western Europe. From 1979 to 1981, he was Director for Japan Affairs, and from 1978 to 1979, Deputy Director in the Office of International Trade at Treasury. He was also a senior staff member at the White House economic policy group in 1977 and the Assistant Director at the Council on International Economic Policy from 1974 to 1977.

Mr. Murphy's Ph.D. in Government is from the Claremont Graduate School in Claremont, CA.

We welcome you both and we will call on Mr. Dennin first.

STATEMENT OF HON. JOSEPH F. DENNIN, ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC POLICY, THE INTERNATIONAL TRADE ADMINISTRATION, U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

Mr. DENNIN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I would like to submit a copy of my remarks for the record, if that is all right, and then I will skip some of the earlier comments contained in those remarks, especially in light of what I am sure are some of the same points which were touched upon by the prior witnesses.

Senator Pressler. Good.

It is always appreciated if you can summarize, by hitting the high points. We will put your entire statement in the record.

Mr. DENNIN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Let me move in just to the economic aspects of MFN with Romania.

We believe that the granting of MFN to Romania has certainly had some benefits. It has, for instance, helped Romania to maintain a greater degree of economic independence from the Soviet Union. As you have heard already here today, 55 percent of Romania's trade is with the West, while, for all other East European countries, about 65 percent of their trade is with the Soviet bloc.

MFN has been the foundation of our commercial relationship with Romania, and its granting was reciprocal. It gave United States companies the ability to sell in Romania. As I believe has been mentioned, there are over 30 American companies now with offices in Bucharest, including one American-Romanian joint venture operation there.

Leading American sales in the country include food processing equipment, agricultural equipment and chemicals, and nonstrategic computing equipment.

Our bilateral trade has tripled since the granting of MFN from $400 million in 1974 to about $1.2 billion last year.

Since 1975, two-way trade has averaged $750 million annually, and has yielded substantial surpluses for the United States throughout most of that period.

It is true that over the last 5 years, our trade with Romania has been increasingly in deficit. Last year, for instance, our exports to Romania were only $208 million, while our imports were over $900 million, resulting in a trade deficit of almost $750 million.

It must be kept in mind, however, that this is a sharp reversal from what was the norm throughout most of the years of our trading relationship since the granting of MFN. Our exports to Romania have traditionally been twice as large as our imports, and our trade surplus in 1980 was $410 million.

As Mr. Palmer mentioned, the basic reason, the fundamental reason for the reversal in trade is that Romania has drastically and dramatically cut its global imports, and has vigorously pushed exports in an effort to reduce its external debt.

Beginning in 1982, Romania has had to make debt payments of roughly $1.6 billion every year.

Last year, and again this year, Romania will repay over $200 million of financial obligations to the U.S. Government and private lenders.

Since 1981, Romania has succeeded at great internal cost at cutting its foreign debt in half, from $12 billion down to $6 billion.

As Mr. Palmer indicated, the cost to the Romanians has, indeed, been tremendous. Living standards have fallen abysmally. Consumption of food and energy has been drastically affected, and its import reduction program has cut heavily into the importation of capital goods.

We believe that Romania's need to import these items cannot be deferred indefinitely and that the present austerity proram will have to be modified. When it is, we expect to see a sharp pickup in our exports to Romania. We expect to see a more balanced trade picture, especially as the declining dollar improves our competitiveness.

I would like to point out at this time that, while it is true that Romania has cut its imports from the United States, our share of exports to Romania, as a percentage of all exports from developed countries, from OECD countries, has increased, to the point that it is now up to 18 percent for 1985.

So, while our exports have gone down in absolute terms, they have been increasing relative to the other developed countries of the world that sell to Romania.

U.S. companies are making some major sales, which will show up in future trade figures. I have in mind particularly the sale of power turbines for their nuclear energy program, power generating equipment, which we are selling to them, incidentally, against very stiff competition, and these will generate, according to our estimates, about 1,000 American jobs, and will keep open a program employing about 6,000 workers here in the United States.

A key question which this committee obviously has been addressing is what would happen if MFN were permanently or even temporarily taken away from Romania. You have heard my colleagues from the State Department testify what the reaction would be in that case. We at the Commerce Department share that judgment.

But I would like to take a minute to particularly touch on some of the economic aspects of that decision.

First, obviously, it would result in a reduction of Romanian exports to the United States. That is clear.

We believe that exports to the United States from Romania, if MFN were taken away, would decrease by somewhere in the neighborhood of between $200 to $300 million, $250 million perhaps, right away.

Over time, however, that figure would go down. The Romanians would be able to shift a great deal of those exports to other markets. That is particularly the case when one keeps in mind that most of the exports we are getting from Romania are petroleum products for which there is a ready market.

The second effect would be, of course, that there would be a sharp loss in United States exports to Romania.

They would, obviously, immediately deny MFN status to United States companies, and this would result in the decision to substitute United States products for those from other Western European or Japanese countries.

We believe we would lose well over half of our potential exports to Romania in the event MFN were taken away.

In this regard, it is our strong belief that a temporary suspension, such as the one before the committee at this time, would have the same effect as a permanent termination of MFN, namely to revert trade relations to roughly their state in the early 1970's. This is because no matter how temporary one says the suspension is going to be, trade is something that builds. It builds on trust and it builds on expectations, and it would be seriously damaged by the uncertainty introduced by such a suspension. We think it would, in the short term, have the same effect as simply terminating the trade relationship as it now exists.

Finally, drawing on our experience with Poland, we find that the heaviest cost would be born by U.S. importers. In the first 6 months of either a suspension or a termination, U.S. importers which were bound by purchase orders at contracted prices would have to take delivery of the ordered goods, and they, then, would have to absorb the added duties which would result from a denial of MFN treatment.

In summary, the United States has, we believe, derived important benefits from extending this treatment to Romania during the course of the last 11 years. It is our desire to continue to see an improvement in the internal conditions in Romania, of course, that have prompted the committee to consider the present measure.

We think that Romania values MFN sufficiently to want it to go on uninterrupted and to continue to make progress toward meeting the concerns which you have expressed.

I would be willing to answer any questions from the committee and with my statement for the record would ask my colleague, Mr. Murphy, to continue.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Dennin appears in the appendix.]

Senator Pressler. Thank you.

Mr. Murphy.

STATEMENT OF HON. JAMES M. MURPHY, JR., ASSISTANT U.S. TRADE REPRESENTATIVE FOR EUROPE AND THE MEDITERRANEAN, OFFICE OF THE U.S. TRADE REPRESENTATIVE

Mr. Murphy. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

If I may, I would like to submit my testimony for the record and just touch on the high points since a fair amount of this you have heard from previous witnesses.

First, we have the observation that the granting of MFN has encouraged the economic independence of Romania. And, as you have heard from previous witnesses, Romania has a little over half of its trade with noncommunist countries. It is the only Warsaw Pact country for which that is true.

Second, there has clearly been an expansion of trade between the United States and Romania during this period of MFN. As Mr. Dennin has indicated, it has been fairly significant. The numbers I have show it going from about $450 million in 1976 to about $1.2 billion in 1985.

From the United States to Romania this trade includes such raw materials as coal, which, in fact, is our leading export, and such agricultural products as soybeans and corn, and industrial products, such as steam turbines, engines, and generators.

United States imports from Romania include a number of energy products, such as natural gas and petroleum products.

The third important point, as we look at the question from a trade perspective, is that Romania has taken on some important international obligations. Let me spend a minute on that about which you have heard less from the other witneses.

The fact that Romania has taken on such international obligations is, in our view, an indication of their commitment and desire to be more integrated into the international trading system.

The United States and Romania concluded a satisfactory bilateral trade agreement during the Tokyo Round of Multilateral Trade Negotiations. Since that time, Romania, which, as you know, has been a GATT member since 1971, has formally adhered to most of the nontariff codes of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, which were negotiated in the Tokyo round.

Specifically, Romania has adhered to the MTN agreements on tariffs, standards, customs valuation, licensing, aircraft, and antidumping, as well as the arrangements negotiated on meat and dairy products. So, their adherence to the codes coming out of the Tokyo round has been extensive.

In addition, the United States and Romania have concluded an income tax treaty and a long-term agreement on economic, industrial, and technical cooperation.

All of these measures we believe show Romania's growing commitment to participation in the international trading system and to trade ties with the United States as well.

We believe that these ties would be put into jeopardy were we to withdraw MFN even for a short period of time.

In conclusion, we believe that MFN obviously is a key element in our trade relationship with Romania. Without it, that relationship would clearly diminish. Mr. Dennin has given you some forecasts of what the actual losses in trade might be. It is certainly an important part of our efforts to expand opportunities for U.S. exporters. Although relatively speaking small, nonetheless some exporters are presumably benefiting from that trade.

Our exporters' efforts to sell United States products in Romania are inevitably linked to access for Romanian products in the United States. As in other countries, U.S. exports depend, in no small part, on access for foreign products in the United States.

For these reasons, we believe that MFN has been beneficial from a trade perspective in the relationship between the United States and Romania.

Let me stop there, Mr. Chairman, and join my colleague in responding to your questions.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Murphy appears in the appendix.]

Senator **Pressler**. Thank you very much.

Senator Pell has arrived, and I want to give him a chance to make an opening statement.

Senator **Pell**. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. I will not read it but ask that this statement be inserted into the record, as if read, at the opening of the hearing.

Senator **Pressler**. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Thank you.

My statement makes particular reference to the of cold and unsympathetic treatment accorded to the Hungarian minority in Transylvania. I think, as we look into the problem of human rights in Romania, we ought to look at that problem as much as at any of the other problems. Beyond that, I just look forward to reading the record of the hearing and congratulate you for holding it, Mr. Chairman.

Senator **Pressler**. I think that this hearing represents a classic question in foreign policy, as I see it.

Let me say for the record that I am very concerned about the religious rights of minorities, have always been concerned in my time in the House and Senate, and will continue to be concerned.

In considering the bills that are before the Finance Committee—and we are looking at the foreign policy aspects of those here today—it seems to me that we have a dilemma. I would like to ask each of you to comment on it.

Romania obviously is violating the religious rights of its minorities and maybe even its majority. That we all abhor, and I abhor it particularly.

Yet, there are a number of things that Romania is doing that are different for an East European state as Ambassador Ridgway's statement has enumerated; you have pointed out several important differences also. You have indicated that there are at least 30 U.S. companies doing business in Romania, and that if MFN were eliminated, probably as many as 1,000 U.S. jobs would be lost. It has also been pointed out that Romania is acting responsibly regarding its debt, and is making great sacrifices which other countries are not willing to make. It is behaving responsibly in the GATT agreements, in the Tokyo round, and the MTN.

I also understand that our Secretary of Commerce recently took 400 American businessmen to the Soviet Union for talks on expanding trade.

If we could get the Romanians to agree—and perhaps this hearing will put pressure on them—to change their policy toward religious minorities, then Romania would be near the top of the list of East European states in terms of countries that are cooperating with the United States and that are actually benefiting the U.S. economy.

Is that not correct? From a purely economic point of view, if we could get past the religious issue, then our relationship with Romania would be an unusual one, wouldn't it? Given Romania's geopolitical location, with its current economic problems, it appears to be behaving as well as other countries in the same category, if not better. Is that not true?

Mr. **DENNIN**. It is certainly true that, relative to Communist bloc countries, it is at the very top of the list, along with, I would say, Hungary, which also has MFN status, in terms of its openness to American investors and its willingness to do a lot of the things which we like to see countries do. Yes, sir.

Senator **TRIBLE**. May I interject for just a minute, Mr. Chairman.

Your answer was well defined and appropriate to your last throwaway phrase—"and other kinds of things we like to see nations do."

Would you please qualify that and focus on those areas of your professional responsibility?

Mr. **DENNIN**. Yes.

The other things I was referring to were the things the chairman mentioned, such as the signing the MTN codes and the like, the things that were part of the question. I was incorporating those in the answer.

Senator **TRIBLE**. Thank you, sir.

Senator **PRESSLER**. In its trade with the U.S.S.R. during the first quarter of 1985, Romania ran a surplus of 72.5 million rubles, compared to a deficit of 32.8 million rubles in the first quarter of 1984.

This suggests that the U.S.S.R. is making Romania move from deficit to surplus in their bilateral trade, a policy that the U.S.S.R. is also pursuing with its other CMEA partners, except Poland. Would you agree? If so, what impact will such a shift in strategy have on the President's decision?

Mr. **MURPHY**. Senator, I'm not sure what the implications of that shift would be, nor am I sure what implications there would be for the President's decision, frankly.

Mr. **DENNIN**. I might add, Mr. Chairman, that all of these numbers, particularly having to do with Romania, are very suspect. We probably have more trouble verifying some of these trade figures from Romania than from any other country in that area.

So, on the basis of what are sort of preliminary, one quarter figures, we are really very reluctant to predict their significance.

Senator **PRESSLER**. If the most-favored-nation status were eliminated, would the leverage the United States enjoys with that special relationship rapidly be eroded, or could MFN be reapplied within a year or two with equal or greater effect upon the Romanian economy?

Mr. **DENNIN**. As I stated in my testimony, Mr. Chairman, we think that the temporary suspension of MFN would be just the same, virtually, in effect, as the termination; that you have such a complicated web of factors that go into these complicated international business transactions, building up confidence and getting companies to go overseas and establish relationships and the like, that to introduce that kind of uncertainty into it right now, whether you called it a suspension or whether you said you might reinstitute it in the future, depending on certain events outside the control of the companies, would really result in people just assuming it was gone. It would have the same effect, a significant effect, as if it were just terminated outright.

Senator **Pressler**. As I understand it, the Congress, the President, and the State Department have three policy options. One is a complete denial of the most-favored-nation waiver; the second would be a short-term suspension of the MFN; the third is the annual renewal which we now have.

Would you compare the effects of a flatout denial to a short-term suspension, in terms of achieving our policy objectives?

Mr. **Dennin**. I think the Department of Commerce believes that the effect of a suspension would be the same as a denial at this time.

Mr. **Murphy**. I would concur with that, Mr. Chairman.

I think in our experience the notion of certainty in a relationship is absolutely critical in international transactions, as Mr. Dennin has indicated. If MFN is withdrawn, it obviously is going to be disruptive to relationships. Many who have worked over the years to develop the relationships may decide it simply is not worth the candle. We are, after all, not talking about a large volume of trade here at this point in time.

So I would concur that the short-term suspension would be tantamount to the permanent elimination.

Mr. **Dennin**. If I might, Mr. Chairman, let me just gratuitously answer a related question that you did not ask. The option of a multiyear MFN is sort of an extension of that.

I think the fact that what we are talking about is favoring the status quo, the annual review process, should be seen as a point on a spectrum which would ideally, in the view of people who are looking for some sort of certainty, continuity, or the like—they favor a multiyear extension. We would agree that from a business standpoint and the like, that is preferable. Certainly companies who are doing business there would like that.

But we have not asked for that and we do not ask for that. We think that what we now have is an inbetween position. And the fact that there is this uncertainty, while it obviously is harmful in some measure to the business community, it is a fair price to pay for the leverage it does give us with the Romanians, leverage it gives our colleagues in the State Department. The fact that we have to come up here and we have to go before the Senate on an annual basis does keep the heat on.

So we have consistently not chosen to try to take that heat off. I think it is the appropriate place on the spectrum to be.

Senator **Pressler**. You mentioned that there were 30 U.S. firms with separate offices in Romania. We are told that it takes 6 to 8 months or longer to process a Western firm's application to open business offices, and that once in Romania, rents are extremely high, that personnel hires are restricted and that the high cost of telecommunications are impediments to business.

Have these issues been raised with the Romanians in the context of the annual review of the MFN? If so, with what degree of success?

Mr. **Dennin**. They have been raised, Mr. Chairman, more specifically within the context of a joint economic commission that we have with Romania, chaired by the Secretary of Commerce. That commission will be meeting in an interim session here in Washington in a few weeks time.

They have been raised in that context, both here in Washington and in Romania, and, to be honest, not with much success. We have been raising those concerns now at least as long as I have been at Commerce in this administration. They continue to be extraordinarily difficult conditions.

The only thing I suppose you can say is that life in Romania seems to be extraordinarily difficult for everybody living there. So we don't feel particularly picked upon.

But they know our views.

Senator **PRESSLER**. I have one final question.

Give me a brief reaction from the point of view of Treasury and Commerce regarding our trade in Eastern Europe, starting with Yugoslavia. We have MFN with Yugoslavia, is that correct?

Mr. **DENNIN**. Yes, sir.

Senator **PRESSLER**. And that is renewed on an annual basis? Or is that permanent?

Mr. **DENNIN**. That is not treated the same as an Eastern European country. That is a permanent MFN status.

We have it on an annual basis with Hungary and Romania in Europe.

Senator **PRESSLER**. Hungary and Romania. And our trade with the other countries—let's take Czechoslovakia, for example, does it have MFN?

Mr. **DENNIN**. Czechoslovakia does not have MFN.

Senator Pressler: Czecholsolvakia does not have MFN, but isn't there a lot of trade?

Mr. **DENNIN**. There is much less trade.

Senator **PRESSLER**. OK, there is less trade.

Mr. **DENNIN**. There is not a lot of trade, in our view.

For instance, we have a commercial officer present in Romania. We recently, last year, took our person out of Czechoslovakia. We didn't think it was justified. There is more trade with Romania.

Senator **PRESSLER**. So, Romania, Yugoslavia, and Hungary are the three countries that we do the most trade with. We have MFN with them. What about some of the other Eastern Bloc countries? What about East Germany, for example? There is very little trade with East Germany, is that right?

Mr. **DENNIN**. We have a limited commercial presence in East Germany, but we do not have a lot of trade with any of those countries where we have not had MFN relations.

Senator **PRESSLER**. Thank you.

Senator Trible.

Senator **TRIBLE**. I will defer to Senator Dodd.

Senator **PRESSLER**. Oh, Senator Dodd.

Did you want to make an opening statement?

Senator **DODD**. No, I don't have an opening statement, Mr. Chairman.

I apologize for coming here so late. We had Banking hearings going on all morning. Since I am junior in that committee, you wait around forever, as some of my colleagues here can appreciate, before you get a chance to ask your questions.

So I apologize to the witnesses.

We are going to go into the afternoon as well, as I understand it, Mr. Chairman.

Senator PRESSLER. Yes, until 5:30 p.m.

Senator DODD. Well, I will be back and forth here.

I have been a skeptic about MFN status over the years, during my House years as well as in the Senate. I don't have an opening statement, Mr. Chairman, but would just share a couple of thoughts with you.

It is always intriguing to me what Romania does right around the time this issue comes up. I would be far more sympathetic if there were some consistency. But invariably, we find that we renew MFN and the situation invariably seems to deteriorate. Then, when the issue comes back again, commendably, the situation improves. I would use the word "commendably 'far more strenuously if it were occurring with a degree of consistency during the period that MFN were in place. And yet, I find every administration that comes up here, in the same position. The Carter administratin had the same view, the Reagan administration, the Ford administration—everybody has had pretty much the same view on the issue.

I am not trying to be hard-nosed at all on the issue. In fact, I ultimately believe, that trade can really improve situations. Arguably, there have been a number of people who have benefited from the MFN status. But I just have a basic problem.

I still have a remaining problem because of a deep interest in the issue of what happens with the Hungarian minority in Romania, which has been a serious problem that I have had for quite a time. That issue always sort of gets brushed aside. I don't think enough people take it seriously enough.

We talk about individual cases of human rights, which are very important. But there is a broader question here that obviously involves individuals but that goes to something deeper.

Frankly, I have seen very little improvement on that issue over the years, and it is one of deep, deep interest to me.

So I am a skeptic, Mr. Chairman, to say the least. I am willing to listen and hear the arguments. I don't want to prejudge the situation, or will try not to. The danger, after a while, is that you can become so locked into a position that it becomes harder for you to get out of it. We become far too predictable, I think, in some of the things we do.

I try not to be so in this particular situation.

I would just like to be given more reasons as to why I should stop being a skeptic about this particular issue. I am anxious to hear today what will be offered and will read, if I have missed it, the testimonies. I hope I will hear something that will make me feel better about this. But, as yet, I have yet to encounter that kind of evidence.

I thank you, Mr. Chairman, for holding these hearings.

Senator PRESSLER. Thank you.

Senator Trible.

Senator TRIBLE. I will tell my colleague from Connecticut that his presence here today would not have put his mind at ease. Indeed, few compelling arguments have been advanced today for granting one of the most highly repressive governments in the world special trade benefits.

Beyond observing, Mr. Chairman, that, it is very prudent of these gentlemen not to ask for a multiyear certification, and beyond observing that at present there is a substantial trade deficit on our part in this bilateral relationship, and there is no evidence to suggest when Ceausescu will change his internal policies and right that balance, and to suggest, moreover, that termination of this economic relationship would advance the interests of a number of basic industries in our own country—textiles, furniture, iron, and steel—that are increasingly challenged by imports from Romania and other countries, I would simply observe that economic considerations are at least marginal, in my judgment here.

I cannot really quarrel with the thrust of these gentlemen's testimony. They have focused on the economic relationship. But there are far more important policy considerations at stake here and we have already talked about those.

I would say, Mr. Chairman, however, that I am deeply disappointed by the thesis of your opening question to these gentlemen. You observed—and I don't know if this was your intention—that if Romania would simply do better in terms of religious freedom, Romania would be somewhat commendable. I think the story we have heard here today from reluctant witnesses——

Senator PRESSLER. No, no. I won't let that stand. That is not so.

Senator TRIBLE. I had hoped that was not your intention.

Senator PRESSLER. That is not what I said. I said what I said.

Mr. DENNIN. I didn't hear that to be the question when I answered the chairman. I thought it was more limited to Romania being basically a "good guy 'within the commercial sphere.

Senator TRIBLE. Good.

Well, you certainly couched your answer with some prodding from me, or at least a portion of your response. For that you are to be commended as well.

But I would simply observe that my concerns, at least, go far beyond the questions of religious persecution. They are very important to me, but anyone who looks at Romania must be concerned with a whole host of activities, and they have been enumerated here today. By any measure, the human rights measure across the board is abysmal, and extends well beyond the lack of religious freedom.

Moreover, although Romania has engaged in some symbolic initiatives in the area of foreign policy, they remain aligned with the Eastern Bloc, closely tied to the Soviet Union in intelligence activities, military maneuvers, and a whole host of activities.

Moreover, Romania is one of the worst nations in the United Nations in terms of its voting against the American position, worse than the Soviet Union and virtually every other Eastern European country.

Also, there is the fact that it has been documented that Romania supports the PLO and a host of terrorist activities around the globe.

So, although I think it is important that we focus on the question of religious freedom, and although that is a paramount concern to me, personally, I think it would be a mistake for us in any way to suggest that the Romanian experience is a positive one across the board. It clearly is not.

This is why I have suggested to my colleagues that we ought to take a very serious look at this special economic relationship. This is why I have suggested, moreover, that we should suspend Most Favored Nation Trading Status to encourage the Romanian Government to right those policies.

I thank you gentlemen for being here.

Senator **Pressler**. Thank you.

I want to address a couple of additional economic questions, if I can.

Assuming that Romania can maintain its share of Western markets, Wharton projects that its exports to non-socialist countries will increase by 39.8 percent by 1990 in nominal terms. At the same time, its imports, starting from a relatively low base of $4.4 billion in 1984, could increase by 86 percent by 1990—again, in nominal terms.

Would you agree with that projection? If so, what percentage of that increase would occur in United States-Romanian trade?

Mr. **Dennin**. Mr. Chairman, we are not perhaps quite as optimistic as that study. But we believe that we can at least double our percentage. We do not know and have not had a chance, frankly, to try to be more precise than that. We are in general agreement with the direction of the projections in the study, but I am not sure we have quite as much faith in the hard numbers that they put forward.

So I could not be in complete agreement.

Senator **Pressler**. Would you submit for the record your analysis of that Wharton study and how you would differ with it?

Mr. **Dennin**. Certainly. We will do that.

[The information referred to follows:]

Question. Assuming that Romania can maintain its share of Western markets, Wharton projects that its exports to non-socialist countries will increase by 39.8 percent by 1990 (in nominal terms). At the same time, its imports, starting from a relatively low base of $4.4 billion in 1984) could increase by 86 percent by 1990 (again, in nominal terms). Do you agree with this projection? If so, what percentage of that increase would occur in U.S.-Romanian trade?

Answer. The Commerce Department believes there will be strong growth in both Romanian imports and exports, which is consistent with the Wharton projections. However, the Wharton projections are based on very broad assumptions which, in our view, pose serious questions about their validity. For example, by assuming constant prices, the Wharton projections do not take account of a recent decline in the price of oil of over 50 percent. Oil is a major item in both imports and exports for Romania.

Current export levels are straining the Romanian economy and will not likely rise until a year or so after a large increase in imports. Current Romanian credit obligations and policies suggest that a vast surge in imports, which would fuel the economy and increase exports, is also at least a year away. Consequently, we do not think growth in trade by 1990 will reach the high rates suggested by Wharton.

Based on what the Romanians have told us in bilateral meetings, we do expect the annual level of U.S. exports to Romania to at least double, over 1985 levels, by 1990, in line with Romania's continued financial recovery. This improvement should compare favorably to possible increases in other OECD country exports. U.S. exports during the last two years have been unusually low, in large part because of the strength of the dollar, but with the dollar's depreciation U.S. companies should recapture lost sales. Romanian exports to the United States, on the other hand, are not likely to grow significantly in the next two years, due to developments such as (a) a recent voluntary restraint agreement which will limit Romanian exports of steel to the United States and (b) the prices of Romanian oil product exports are expected to be much lower this year than last.

Senator PRESSLER. Mr. Murphy, do you have any additional feelings on that?

Mr. MURPHY. No, Mr. Chairman. We are a small agency and not engaged in the business of projections or even evaluating others. So I will defer to the experts from Commerce on that.

Senator PRESSLER. OK. I have another question. Now, Romania's extensive growth and energy-intensive strategy of the 1970s has proven inappropriate for the 1980's. Their lack of reform and continued low priority to consumer goods availability places them at odds with the policies of other CMEA countries.

Should the United States attempt to influence the Romanian industrial strategy and encourage economic reform? What can be done to reverse the economic deterioration there? Will it inevitably become a ward of the Soviets?

Mr. DENNIN. Yes, we should try to encourage them to change their strategy, I believe.

Secretary Baldrige and the other people who have participated in the United States-Romanian Joint Economic Commission meetings have, over the past several years, tried to suggest to the government of Romania that they should be putting more emphasis on encouraging their agricultural sector, also in decentralizing and the like.

We have not been very successful in bringing them around to our view on that. But certainly, as we develop our agenda for the coming meetings, which, as I said, will take place in a few weeks, because we do not want to see them being inevitably drawn into that further client state status, we will try to show them once again why what they are doing is bringing about the sad situation that now exists in their economy.

We do think that denying MFN status would, to the extent it had an effect, tend to make more likely their client state status with respect to the Soviets, however.

Senator PRESSLER. One thing that I do not fully understand is what we really get out of trading with Romania at this level.

For example, I am told that Romanian trade officials remain under instructions to limit hard currency imports and generally to require that Western firms conclude sales contracts with Romania and accept payment in counter-purchase of Romanian goods.

Now, in such a climate, what is the return to the United States of United States-Romanian trade?

Mr. MURPHY. Presumably, Mr. Chairman, these are all private decisions made by private companies, and, therefore, they see a way to make a profit out of it. The problem of counter-trade, of course, exists with a number of these Bloc countries, and our companies are free to participate or not to participate. One has to presume that any company which decides to participate sees some way to make a dollar out of the transaction.

Senator PRESSLER. How do they do that?

Mr. MURPHY. Presumably, they see a way to market the products they are going to have to take in counter-trade into a market in the United States or into some third country market.

Senator PRESSLER. There is a marginal advantage, then.

Mr. DENNIN. I think you could add to that, Mr. Chairman, the fact that while the pickings are, indeed, slim, companies have decided to really stay in the game at a very low profit return because they believe that things will get better and they want to keep the relationship that they have established there.

What it has done for us is more clearly seen if you go back just a couple of years ago, for instance, back in the late 1970's and early 1980's. Our exports to Romania supported about 18,000 U.S. jobs a year. Things are not as good today. But it is obviously with a view toward a return to that that some of these companies are continuing to stay in the game.

Senator PRESSLER. Please compare and contrast the total dollar value of Romania's trade with the United States as compared with Romania's trade with the rest of Eastern Europe and the U.S.S.R. over the past decade or any recent period of time, approximately. Is Romania's trade with non-market states increasing? If so, by what percentage?

Mr. DENNIN. Yes, it is increasing as a percentage. It is increasing, however, because they have decreased their imports from the market economies. That has been to conserve the hard currency.

So, while it is true that the percentage of their trade with the Eastern Bloc countries has increased over recent years, we do not think that is a matter of choice.

After all, most of their trade is still with the West. Over half their trade is still with the West, which sets them apart from any other country in Eastern Europe. We think that is a more accurate reflection of preference and that once the ability to buy more from the West returns, to the extent it does, we think that will turn around that shift over the last couple of years toward inceased trade with the Soviets.

Senator PRESSLER. I shall ask the remainder of my questions for the record.

Senator Dodd.

Senator DODD. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Just briefly, it is somewhat ironic—I have to share this with you, Mr. Chairman. I gather the President is going to go on television tonight and one of the subjects is going to be, I guess, the Nicaraguan situation, the Contras. He is going to be asking the American people to support $100 million to overthrow the Nicaraguan Government. The irony is the administration simultaneously is up here today asking for Most Favored Nation status to Romania. It is kind of a mixed bag of signals.

I am going to be accused, I am sure, at some point of being sympathetic to Marxism because I oppose Contra aid; and I will probably confuse everybody because I have a problem with this particular request and have had over the years.

I don't see the inconsistency at all. I am not trying to overthrow the Romanian Government. I may have my disagreements with it, and I would not support MFN status for Nicaragua in a moment. But there is a bit of a difference. That is a little more extreme than I am willing to go, on one side or the other of this.

Tell me about the relationships we have, refresh my memory, in terms of MFN status with other Eastern Bloc countries, such as Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Yugoslavia. What is our status there?

Mr. MURPHY. We have MFN status on an annual renewable basis with Romania and with Hungary. We had MFN status with Poland, which we withdrew. And with the other East Bloc countries, we do not grant MFN status.

Senator DODD. What has been the reception in Congress over the last couple of years with the MFN situation in Hungary and Czechoslovakia?

Mr. MURPHY. I am not in a position to comment on that.

Senator DODD. Well, generally, it has been received fairly well, hasn't it?

Mr. DENNIN. I'm sorry, Senator. Would you ask the question again, please.

Senator DODD. It's about Hungary and Czechoslovakia. The MFN requests before the Congress have not been troublesome. It is this one that has been troublesome.

Mr. DENNIN. Yes.

Senator DODD. In your minds, why is that the case? Should there be any distinction in your minds?

Mr. DENNIN. Yes.

There is in my mind a rational distinction. The question is whether or not the differentiation is so great as to put one outside the category of MFN, and the other in, or whether it is to just say that there are obviously differences you could draw between the two.

Senator DODD. I said Czechoslovakia. By the way, Czechoslovakia does not have MFN status, does it?

Mr. DENNIN. No. It's Hungary. Poland used to have it, but does not anymore.

Senator DODD. I understand that, and I knew that.

How would you compare relatively the situation in terms of human rights generally in Czechoslovakia and Romania?

Mr. DENNIN. Well, I really would not want to get into making that judgment, Senator. The people who were here, testifying earlier this morning from the State Department, Mr. Palmer and Mr. Derwinski, I think spoke to that issue at some length and submitted some comments.

Senator DODD. I read the testimony.

Does the administration support MFN status for Czechoslovakia or do we oppose it?

Mr. DENNIN. I am unaware of anybody proposing to grant a waiver which would give it to them.

Senator DODD. Is there any reason why we might oppose it if it were requested?

Mr. DENNIN. There is, to my knowledge, no suggestion percolating through the administration to request a waiver on the basis of their emigration or human rights policy.

Senator DODD. Could you tell me about this? Have you examined the issue, the concerns that have been raised? I am told by staff that Czechoslovakia has refused to comply with the emigration requirements.

Is that the reason?

Mr. DENNIN. Well, a waiver is sought on the assumption that somebody has demonstrated to us that they are making progress in the emigration area. Czechoslovakia has done nothing to indicate that we should think about giving them a waiver.

Senator DODD. But the fact that someone says they will comply and then don't comply——

Mr. DENNIN. Well, Romania has been complying with emigration.

Senator DODD. Well, hardly.

Tell me a bit about the situation in terms of how thoroughly we have examined the issue of the Hungarian minority question in Romania, which is a serious, serious problem. There has been the closing down of libraries and a real effort to crush any cultural identification for that significant minority in the country. How serious is that problem? Does it continue?

Mr. DENNIN. Again, Senator, I could only speak in a very personal sense, and I do not think I am competent to address those questions which, I think, could more appropriately be directed to the State Department and the witnesses they had here to answer those questions. I am sure that they would be happy to respond to them in writing, if they are not already covered, and I can pass them on to them.

Senator DODD. What I gather, and certainly to this extent I commend the Romanian Government, that they have made an effort, it would appear, to distance themselves and at least to be somewhat independent from the Soviet Union. I do not mean to belittle that at all. That is not insignificant.

But it seems to me that that is not central to the MFN question, that willingness, for whatever reason, to distance themselves. I don't think it is quite as pronounced, as some have suggested, on fundamental questions. They have done some things that on the fringes are OK, but when it comes down to push and shove on some of the basic questions, I don't think, anyone has any illusions about where Romania ends up.

I am not even so sure the Soviets do not even necessarily turn a blind eye and a deaf ear to when they do it because they realize they are getting MFN status and it has not hurt them economically. In an indirect way, presumably, it has been of some assistance to the Soviet Union.

But is that really central? I mean, these other questions, while we do not think of them as being unimportant—I am speaking now of the administration—we are willing to sort of raise those questions to a lesser extent because of that larger geopolitical question, as we see it.

Is that basically the rationale?

Mr. DENNIN. My understanding—and, again, let me point out that this is a sort of secondhand understanding and obviously is not the definitive word on it since the State Department people are the ones who are making these judgments—and I believe Mr. Palmer stated to Senator Trible—although I just came in at the end of his testimony—that they all recognized that these things that Romania was doing, which we liked in the international context, were clearly movements around the margin and were really not heavyweight moves; and we recognize that; that the central criterion for a waiver in this particular instance is emigration; and the other concerns certainly come into play. These are both the fact that they are doing a number of things vis-a-vis the Soviet Union which we applaud, in terms of being willing to distance themselves. They did not participate, for instance, as he mentioned, in the invasion of Czechoslovakia, and a number of other things like that.

But also there is the dimension of the degree of internal repression. To that extent, the judgment has been made that things are worse in Romania than, for instance, they are in Hungary.

Now that is my assessment personally of the situation as I have sort of been into the process.

But, again, the question, if it is really a definitive answer that is looked for to the question, I think it had better be given in writing from the State Department.

Senator **Dodd**. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I will submit whatever additional questions I have. I do not want to delay the committee any longer.

Senator **Pressler**. Thank you.

I want to thank our witnesses very much. There may be some additional questions for the record from Senators who are not present.

Senator **Trible**. Mr. Chairman, may I ask a question about this afternoon?

Senator **Pressler**. Yes.

Senator **Trible**. The schedule suggests that panel No. 3 will begin at 2 p.m, and I see you have two hours allotted for the testimony of three witnesses, and then a congressional panel at 4 p.m.

Senator **Pressler**. Maybe we can speed that up. Do you want to move that up? Is that your suggestion?

Senator **Trible**. Well, it is hard for me to believe that those three witnesses will consume 2 hours. I also wonder whether it will be necessary to wait until 4 p.m.

I also wanted to ask about Mr. Collins.

Senator **Pressler**. We will call on him.

Senator **Trible**. He will be testifying?

Senator **Pressler**. Yes.

Shall we move up the congressional panel? Is that possible to do? I don't know if we can. They have been notified to come at 4 p.m. I would not object if we could get that better coordinated.

Senator **Trible**. Well, that may be difficult, given their number, with Senator Armstrong and three Congressmen.

Senator **Pressler**. Well, then, I guess we will probably have a pause.

Senator **Trible**. We may have a pause. Well, we do have three good witnesses appearing first, so we will make the most of the time.

Senator **Pressler**. Let me say that some of the scheduling for today was due to airline schedules. It may be that the panel found that 4 p.m. was more appropriate. You would have no argument from me if we could move it up. However, I think that at this hour it may be better to leave it as it is.

Senator **Trible**. I would yield, gladly, to the chairman. I would just observe that we might have some free time this afternoon. But maybe you and I can fill it up.

Senator **Pressler**. When my colleague begins to chair hearings, he will find that sometimes it is hard to schedule things perfectly. But we will try to improve.

Senator **Trible**. We always strive for perfection.

Senator **Pressler**. Yes, indeed.

Senator **Trible**. I want to thank the witnesses from the Commerce Department and our Special Trade Representative for their insights on the economic dimension of this multifaceted relationship.

Senator **Pressler**. Thank you very much.

[Whereupon, at 11:55 a.m., the subcommittee recessed, to reconvene at 2 p.m., the same day.]

AFTERNOON SESSION

The subcommittee met at 2:11 p.m., in room SD-419, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Hon. Larry Pressler (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Present: Senators Pressler, Trible, and Dodd.

Senator PRESSLER. I will call this hearing to order.

I would like to welcome the witnesses, Ms. Jeri Laber, executive director, Helsinki Watch; Mr. Laszlo Hámos, chairman, Committee for Human Rights in Romania; and Mr. Richard D. English, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Refugee Admissions, Bureau for Refugee Programs, U.S. Department of State.

Perhaps we should call upon Mr. English first for his statement. If we could limit the statements to about 8 minutes, that would be very useful. Then we will have a period of time for questions.

Of course, if there is additional material, we will submit it for the record, within certain limitations. Earlier this year, we had a request from Senator Lugar and Senator Pell for subcommittees to have witnesses summarize as much as possible lengthy statements. I will just say that this does not apply to these witnesses at all.

Let me say to staff on both sides that materials that are submitted, if repetitious or if extremely lengthy, should be summarized in order to save printing costs. I hope everyone will cooperate in that sense.

This does not apply just to these witnesses. I am making this statement for the record.

Our first speaker is Richard D. English, the Deputy Assistant Secretary for Refugee Admissions in the Bureau for Refugee Programs, U.S. Department of State. In this position, Mr. English supervises the Department's operations concerning the admission of refugees to the United States from throughout the world. In this program, he works with 14 voluntary resettlement agencies.

Prior to joining the Department, Mr. English served as Deputy Assistant Secretary of ACTION, the U.S. Government's volunteer agency. At ACTION, he participated in overseeing the agency's volunteer projects, promoting the use of volunteers to assist in the resettlement of refugees in the United States.

Prior to that, Mr. English served as assistant for policy to Governor William P. Clements, Jr., of Texas, and in that position he worked with refugee resettlement councils to assist in the resettlement of refugees in large Texas cities and the resolution of conflicts between Vietnamese and indigenous fishermen along the Texas coast.

Mr. English is an attorney.

We welcome you to the Senate today.

STATEMENT OF RICHARD D. ENGLISH, DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR REFUGEE ADMISSIONS, BUREAU OF REFUGEE AFFAIRS, DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Mr. English. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I have a statement that I would like to have included in the written record of the hearing. However, I will summarize it.

I appreciate this opportunity to discuss with you the U.S. Government's refugee programs.

The Bureau for Refugee Programs is very appreciative of the support the Congress has provided in the recent past for these very important programs, and indeed the continued support of the American people that has been expressed through their elected representatives.

We welcome the interest of the Congress and the public.

A few years ago, the Congress passed the Refugee Act of 1980, which added the term "refugee 'to the Immigration and Nationality Act. In order to be admitted to the United States, persons who meet this definition of refugee must not have been offered firm resettlement in a third country and must not otherwise be ineligible for admission to the United States.

Before examining Romanian refugee admissions to the United States, I would like to present a general view of emigration from Romania to all major recipient countries over the past decade, from calendar year 1975 to calendar year 1985. Included with my testimony is a chart that shows the way in which this figure has behaved.

The total legal migration out of Romania in 1975 was 6,975. During most of the 10 years since 1975, legal emigration has increased, reaching the highest point in 1984, with the emigration of 21,327 Romanians.

The figure for 1985 was a little more than 17,000, a figure still three times the 1976 number. Clearly, the trend is upward.

In the 11-year period beginning in calendar year 1975, 150,000 Romanians were allowed to emigrate.

Mr. Chairman, in the interest of time I will not review the remaining charts included with my testimony and the history of the program they represent.

Senator Pressler. Would you pull the microphone a little closer? We will then be able to hear you a little bit better.

Mr. English. Mr. Chairman, there are three additional charts included with my written testimony that I will not attempt to describe. However, they do present the history of emigration from Romania during this last 10-year period.

For the Romanian Third Country Processing Program, called the Romanian TCP Program, the statistics reflect in part the allocations which the Department has been able to provide for the program.

For each of the 4 fiscal years, the initial allocation has been 2,000. In both fiscal years 1984 and 1985, additions have been made to this allocation, bringing the respective totals to 2,487 and 3,061 for those fiscal years.

Romanians enter the United States as refugees either by applying in Romania for the TCP Program or by applying after their departure from Romania.

Romanians outside their homeland may apply at any of the 28 designated refugee processing posts around the world.

As I have stated, Romanians also benefit from a special program called the Romanian TCP Program. This term describes a process whereby individuals are preliminarily examined by U.S. officials in Bucharest, and if found qualified for further consideration, are enabled to proceed to Rome and there make formal application to INS officials to enter the United States as refugees.

This program is available primarily to a finite group of persons who had registered with our embassy prior to August 1982.

Mr. Chairman, the administration deplores violations of human rights in Romania which sometimes provoke individuals to seek emigration. The Romanian TCP Program has provided a means for such emigration.

The Romanian refugee situation is perhaps better understood in its historical context. The TCP Program had its genesis in the 1970's, when it was a means of facilitating the entry of a small number of Romanians who were able to obtain exit permission from the Romanian Government but unable to qualify for United States immigrant visas. These people did not qualify for immigrant visas because they did not have the requisite anchor relatives in the United States.

Romanian emigration increased after 1974, due to encouragement by the U.S. Government and to the provision of the Jackson-Vanik amendment that nations with nonmarket economies that deny their citizens the right or opportunity to emigrate cannot qualify for most-favored-nation status.

The passage of the Refugee Act of 1980 altered the framework of refugee admissions to the United States. Together with the definition of refugee already discussed, the new provisions for annually adopted world and regional ceilings created a new set of ground rules for refugee admissions programs.

In the early 1980's, as the number of Romanian registrants increased, so did our backlog. By the summer of 1982, some 10,000 Romanians were registered for the program. Under our regional refugee ceiling for the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, we could not process all the potential refugees who registered for TCP in Bucharest.

In response to the situation, we suspended TCP registration on August 27, 1982.

Looking to the future, we, as a matter of policy, believe that, in general, Romanian emigration to the United States should find channels other than the Romanian TCP Program and that the program should be phased down in an orderly manner.

At the same time, we believe that our Government has a responsibility to those eligible persons who had registered with our embassy for the TCP Program and to those eligible individuals who had suffered hardship because they had obtained exist documentation in the expectation that they would emigrate through the TCP Program.

We expect over the next 2 years to process the remaining 3,700 people who are qualified to come here under TCP, but who do not currently have exit permission.

A problem which has continued to plague the Romanian TCP Program until last year was that large numbers of Romanian citizens obtained permanent emigrant documents from their government without first checking with the American Embassy to see whether they met our admissions criteria. The tragedy of this as twofold.

First, such applicants might not ever qualify for admission to the United States.

Second, like others who sought to emigrate, they were often subject to severe sanctions, including loss of current employment and educational and social benefits. Thus, they could be left in a state of uncertainty amounting to that of refugees in their own country.

Last June, Counselor Derwinski negotiated an understanding of immigration procedures with the Romanian Government which it has now begun to implement. Essentially, they make two major changes.

First, the Romanians will issue immigration passports to the United States only after we have informed them that applicants are qualified for processing.

Second, until that time, the applicants whom the Romanians approve for emigration will receive certificates of eligibility pending our processing, but in the meantime will undergo no major change in social status.

We are monitoring these new procedures carefully.

The regular Romanian refugee program and TCP Program have been effective in allowing large numbers of Romanians to resettle in the United States. Some immigrants may have no blood relatives to assist in their resettlement, but receive considerable support, both spiritual and material, from religious groups with whom they share a common bond.

Romanian immigrants to the United States include a higher percentage of skilled people—doctors, engineers, technicians, and so forth—than does the Romanian society as a whole.

Members of the smaller denominations, such as Nazarenes and Jehovah Witnesses, often suffer discrimination or persecution, sometimes simply because their denominations are not officially recognized. They have been warmly welcomed and assisted by religious communities and have reestablished themselves in an environment of religious freedom.

The department continues to pressure the Romanian Government to show greater respect for the religious freedom of members of these smaller denominations.

Mr. Chairman, we believe it is worth recognizing that the Romanian refugee program has given thousands of Romanians the opportunity to emigrate to the United States.

Thanks to our regular and intense monitoring of Romanian Government policies, this has been the largest and most regular flow of emigration from any Communist country, except East Germany, in recent years. It has reunited many families who would otherwise certainly have remained apart. It has also brought a pool of talented people, many with professional skills, to begin new lives in this country.

We will continue to press the Romanian Government to provide its citizens with the opportunity for free emigration.

Thank you for this opportunity to testify before the subcommittee.

[The prepared statement of Mr. English appears in the appendix.]

Senator **Pressler**. Thank you.

I will ask a couple of questions before we hear from the other two witnesses. This is something I have always wanted to learn.

If a U.S. citizen wanted to emigrate from the United States to another country, what restrictions would be placed on that individual? I don't know if that happens very often. Would that individual have to have all his or her debts paid? Would he or she have to provide a certificate indicating that he is not in a divorce proceeding or that not five children were being left behind without support?

Do we have any restrictions on people leaving, such as on those who leave without paying a lot of student loans? Can one just leave the country? What is our policy?

Mr. **English**. Mr. Chairman, I personally know of no restrictions on people leaving the United States. You have mentioned a number of obligations, and, of course, this would raise some questions about leaving tangible assets in the United States which would be subject to suit by people to whom these obligations are owed. But I know of no restrictions, legally, on emigration from the United States.

Senator **Pressler**. What are the internationally accepted standards that pertain to emigration? Are they different if one has a lot of property, and one is from an impoverished country? Is one entitled to sell that property and take the monetary value out of the country, or must one leave with "the shirt on one's back?" What are the rules on that?

Mr. **English**. I do not have any information about particular internationally accepted standards. I would be glad to look into that question. I will consult the Office of the Legal Adviser of the Department of State and provide an answer.

[The information referred to follows:]

THE RIGHT TO EMIGRATE

The right of a person to emigrate from his country is enunciated in Article 13(2) of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which states, "Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country." The Universal Declaration, adopted by the U.N. General Assembly in 1948, while not a treaty and thus not designed legally to bind states, is a unique, authoritative definition of the goals which the human rights obligations of the Charter are meant to promote.

The right of emigration is also recognized in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, to which Romania is a party. (The United States has signed but not ratified this Covenant.) Article 12(2) of the Covenant states, "Everyone shall be free to leave any country, including his own."

Finally, although the Final Act of the Helsinki Accords is a political rather than a legal document, it is interesting to note that it implicitly recognizes the right to emigrate in Section VII of the "Declaration on Principles Guiding Relations between Participating States," which states that "the participants will act in conformity with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights," and that "[t]hey will also fulfill their obligations as set forth in the international declarations and agreements in this field, including, inter alia, the International Covenants on Human Rights, by which they may be bound." The Final Act also contains a section on "Cooperation in Humanitarian and Other Fields," which provides that "the participating states will deal in a positive and humanitarian spirit with the applications of persons who wish to be reunited with members of their family."

The right to emigrate is thus clearly recognized in international law. Some limitations on that right, however, may be permissible in certain circumstances. Article 29(2) of the Universal Declaration, for example, while generally forbidding any restrictions on the rights enumerated therein, permits "such limitations as are determined by law solely for the purpose of . . . meeting the just requirements of morality, public order, and the general welfare in a democratic society." Similarly, Article 12(3) of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights states that the right to emigrate may be subject to those restrictions "which are provided by law, are necessary to protect national security, public order (ordre public), public health or morals or the rights and freedoms of others, and are consistent with the other rights recognized in the present Covenant."

Restrictions on the property that can be removed by emigrants must be measured against this standard. Whether a particular restriction on the removal of property is permissible under international law would depend on whether it is necessary for the public order and general welfare of the country. This in turn would depend on such factors as the country's economic conditions, the number of probable emigrants, and the particular terms of the restrictions.

Information regarding the restrictions placed on emigration by various countries in the world is contained in Section 2(d) of the Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 1985, submitted to Congress by the Department last month.

Senator **Pell**. The reason usually given for when people cannot emigrate is a lot of lesser developed say they don't let their doctors emigrate after they have paid for their education and they need them there, and they won't let people leave who have debts or obligations. There is usually an excuse given, isn't there? I mean, people can't just leave—although some of those countries have a policy of no tourism, nobody going outside the country at all.

Is that not true?

Mr. **English**. This is correct for certain countries. Yes.

Senator **Pressler**. What you are saying, then, is that Romania has probably the most liberal policy, if we can use that word, of all the communist bloc countries in terms of letting people go if they want to go?

Mr. **English**. Relatively speaking, for the Eastern Bloc, I would agree.

Senator **Pressler**. Are there Western countries that have restrictions on emigration? Of course, we have asked Mexico to place restrictions on emigration, I believe, haven't we? Haven't we formally asked the Government of Mexico to place restrictions on people departing Mexico, coming to the United States?

Mr. **English**. I think that we have, in discussions with the Government of Mexico, tried to discourage illegal emigration into the United States.

I will take the question and consult with the Latin American Bureau about that and give you some information about what we have done in that regard.

[The information referred to follows:]

The United States and Mexico have no agreement to restrict emigration from Mexico. U.S. and Mexican immigration authorities and other law enforcement officials cooperate with each other on law enforcement matters of mutual concern. We contnually work together, for example, on border banditry. The U.S., of course, seeks to prevent undocumented entry into U.S., but the U.S. does not favor Mexico's placing restrictions on Mexicans exiting their country.

Senator PRESSLER. What reasons have you been given by countries that restrict emigration? What reasons do they give you? What reasons do they give to the world, or do they give reasons to anybody?

Mr. ENGLISH. Let me take that question with me and get the information for you, Senator. I do not have it with me.

[The information referred to follows:]

RATIONALES GIVEN FOR RESTRICTING EMIGRATION

There is no single set of justifications given by countries that restrict emigration. In the Soviet bloc, emigration is generally regarded as a privilege rather than a right. On this view, reasons are not required to deny emigration; instead, they are required to justify emigration. Often, emigration is denied simply on the ground that it is not expedient or convenient for the state.

In the Third World, restrictions on emigration are usually justified on economic grounds. One common rationale for restricting emigration among scientists and other specially trained persons is to prevent a "brain drain." Another is to prevent the impoverishment of the country through the flight of capital and foreign exchange.

Finally, on national security grounds, some countries prohibit military personnel from emigrating, or those who have not yet fulfilled their national service obligations, or those who have had access to classified information.

Senator PRESSLER. Has this issue never occurred to you? In your professional career, have you ever run across the reasons that countries give for restricting emigration?

Mr. ENGLISH. My specialty is refugees, per se, and refugees are, by definition, in most cases people who have left in situations which may amount to illegally leaving their homelands. This is usually the case, as a matter of fact.

Senator PRESSLER. OK. So refugees, more than legal emigration, is your field—is that right?

Mr. ENGLISH. Refugees are people who essentially are outside the country of their nationality because of a well-founded fear of persecution or actual past persecution because of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion.

Senator PRESSLER. I just want to get it clear. The people who leave Romania are not leaving on that basis. They are emigrating legally, is that not correct? I mean, they are not escaping, so to speak?

Mr. ENGLISH. Insofar as we are talking about people who enter the United States as refugees from countries of first asylum, in many cases these could be people who left illegally. In other cases, they may not be.

The definition itself does not speak of the reason for which a person leaves the country of his nationality, but the reason for which they remain outside the country of nationality.

Senator PRESSLER. This is the point that I am trying to make. You are not really testifying on the refugee problem from Romania; your point is that Romania allows people to leave if they want to. I mean, they might be fleeing, but they are not illegally leaving the country, whereas some countries have restrictions that would force them to leave illegally. There is a different in emigration policies. Let me phrase the question this way. In Romania, if somebody says he wants to leave, do they let him go? Is that your point?

Mr. **English**. No, Senator, I have not been making that point.

The point that I have made, I believe, in my testimony is that over the course of the past 10 years, the number of people who have been allowed to leave Romania has——

Senator **Pressler**. Who have been allowed to leave Romania or who have escaped from Romania?

Mr. **English**. 150,000 have left legally. A smaller number have left illegally.

Senator **Pressler**. That is what I am trying to get at. So they legally allow people to leave. They say go ahead and go. They don't restrict them, I guess, as compared to some other communist countries?

Mr. **English**. They are less restrictive. That's correct.

Senator **Pressler**. Less restrictive. All right. Fine.

Thank you Mr. English.

Our second witness this afternoon is Ms. Jeri Laber, the executive director of the Helsinki Watch.

Ms. Laber received her B.A. from New York University in 1952 and her Masters from the Russian Institute at Columbia University in 1954. She also holds a Masters Degree from Columbia in Slavic Languages and Literature.

Ms. Laber has been the executive director of the U.S. Helsinki Watch Committee since 1977. She has also been the executive director of the International Freedom to Publish Committee of the Association of American Publishers. She also is the former executive director of the Fund for Free Expression.

Ms. Laber is the author and editor of several books, magazine articles, and book reviews. She is a member of Amnesty International and a board member of the America's Watch, Asia Watch, the Fund for Free Expression: an Index on Censorship.

Ms. Laber will discuss the overall evolution of human rights in Romania, with particular attention to religious persecution.

We welcome you.

STATEMENT OF JERI LABER, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, U.S. HELSINKI WATCH COMMITTEE, NEW YORK

Ms. **Laber**. Thank you very much.

As you may know, Helsinki Watch has issued reports on Romania since 1981, and we have testified regularly at congressional MFN hearings on Romania since 1983.

Until May 1985, our recommendation did not vary. Despite gross and continuing human rights abuse in Romania, we urged that MFN be continued as the only means of leverage available to the United States in trying to bring about human rights improvement in Romania.

Last July, however, having watched the human rights situation in Romania continue its decline into unremitting misery for the majority of Romanian citizens, we changed our recommendation. In written testimony submitted in July, 1985, to the Finance Committee of the U.S. Senate, we urged the U.S. Government to end most-favored-nation status for Romania.

This year, however, the situation is once again different, and we have been forced to reconsider our position. Indignation at Romania's human rights violations has been growing in the United States, and there are a number of bills on Romania now pending in Congress, some of which call for an end to MFN. The repeal of Romania's most-favored-nation status no longer seems like an unrealizable threat.

Quite frankly, members of Helsinki Watch find themselves in a quandary vis-a-vis MFN and Romania. On the one hand, Romania remains one of the most closed societies and egregious offenders of human rights in Eastern Europe. There are three factors that unite in Romania to make life there unbearable. The first is Communist totalitarian control, as repressive as any in Eastern Europe. The second is a cult of personality surrounding President Ceausescu, who demands not only loyalty from his subjects, but adulation, and has surrounded himself with the luxuries and privileges of royalty. The third is the insane imposition of financial hardships on the Romanian people aimed at reducing Romania's huge international debt at the very expense of the lives of its citizens.

Given this picture, one asks, why should we continue to support the Ceausescu regime by granting it most-favored-nation status?

Yet, if we were to end NFM once and for all, what good would this bring us or the Romanian people? We will have lost an annual forum for airing human rights abuses in Romania. We will have lost whatever leverage the U.S. State Department can apply in trying to bring about human rights improvements in Romania.

We may drive Romania into still further reliance on the Soviet Union and destroy its small gestures of independence within the Warsaw Pact.

In addition, and perhaps most important, we will leave the beleaguered Romanian people with the feeling that they have been abandoned by the United States, one of their few sources of hope.

It appears that it will be next to impossible to restore MFN once it has been revoked.

These considerations have led the Helsinki Watch Committee to reconsider its position. Our board now suggests a compromise—the suspension of Romania's MFN status for a period of 6 months, to be followed by a reevaluation. MFN would be renewed only if Romania were to demonstrate in that 6-month period its commitment to internationally recognized human rights.

We ask specifically that Romania: cease interrogating and harassing Romanian citizens who have contacts with foreigners and repeal legislation aimed at preventing such contact; remove restrictions on religious freedom, including restrictions on religious education and literature; ease emigration rules and cease the extra legal persecution of prospective emigrants; remove restrictions on Hungarian schools and universities and other measures aimed at suppressing the cultural identity of the Hungarian minority in Romania; eliminate discrimination against elderly people with regard to medical treatment and other public services; and permit independent human rights factfinding missions, including the Helsinki Watch Committee, to visit Romania in order to verify any steps taken to improve the human rights situation there.

We also suggest that the 6-month suspension be followed by a review during which it would be determined whether or not MFN should be renewed or whether the suspension should be extended for another 6-month period.

Given the severe economic problems facing Romania today, perhaps the temporary suspension of MFN would jolt the government into action, while giving it a chance to take real measures to retrieve not only its MFN status with the United States, but also its own self-respect and humanity.

Mr. Chairman, the written testimony I am submitting deals in detail with human rights abuses in Romania in the areas of freedom of expression, freedom of movement, freedom of religion, political prisoners, workers 'rights, minority rights, and the invasion of privacy.

I only have time this afternoon to mention a few specific aspects of the human rights situation there.

Romania is a country where typewriters have to be registered, so afraid are its leaders of the written word.

It is a country where the government is so intent on building a new generation that women of child-bearing age are required to have monthly gynecological examinations in order to prevent abortions, and where elderly people are considered superfluous, forced out of the cities, and denied medical care.

It is a country where Bibles are made into toilet paper.

It is the country where Gheorghe Ursu, a 59-year-old engineer and poet, whose daughter lives in the United States, disappeared last September 21. In November, his family was informed that he had died of a heart attack in police custody. His body was returned bearing signs of torture.

It is the country from which Silviu Telemann, a highly regarded mathematician, has been trying to emigrate since 1981, but instead has been harassed and tormented.

A composer I know in Bucharest can no longer play the piano because of severe arthritis, the aftermath of spending last winter in a frozen apartment due to heating shortages unnecessarily imposed by the Romanian Government.

Life in Romania today is misery beyond belief. But, as a Romanian friend recently told me: "The saddest thing is the corruption of the soul. You can see how a people is dying. They don't trust. They don't believe in anything."

Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Ms. Laber appears in the apendix.]

Senator **Pressler**. Thank you.

I was curious about your reference to the elderly. Would you expand on what Romania's policies for the elderly are?

Ms. **Laber**. This is a relatively new aspect of the situation. There is not as much information available as we would like. But we keep receiving reports that elderly people are being forced out of the city and that they are being denied medical care.

Senator **Pressler**. Were you told this or do you know this for a fact? What is the source of your statement?

Ms. **Laber**. The source of most information in Romania is testimony by emigres. I should say, just for your own information, that I have been to Romania myself. I travel extensively in all of the East European countries, seeking out people who can give me firsthand information. In Romania, where I found it very difficult to establish such contacts, I managed to see about a handful of people. When I was leaving, I was called in by the police. I was told that they knew exactly what I had done, and I received a threat that I have not received anywhere else in Eastern Europe: "If you go home and tell people what those people told you, the people you met with are going to be in terrible trouble."

Senator **Pressler**. But in terms of the elderly, what are the specific policies?

Ms. **Laber**. Well, the reports we get are that they are being denied medical attention. They are considered superfluous.

Senator **Pressler**. Is this under the medical program there?

Ms. **Laber**. Under the government's program, yes.

Senator **Pressler**. At what age are they denied medical attention?

Ms. **Laber**. I cannot tell you that. But there is a policy that people over a certain age—over 60, I would assume——

Senator **Pressler**. And they are no longer allowed to have any medical treatment?

Ms. **Laber**. These are the reports that we are getting. They are being treated like second class citizens who have no role in society, who should not be occupying housing in Bucharest, who should be moved out into the countryside.

Senator **Pressler**. Has there been anything written on this? Can you supply the committee with some documentation?

Ms. **Laber**. I will supply you with whatever we have. We are constantly trying to get more information, because it is a subject that interests us tremendously, also.

Senator **Pressler**. That interests me a great deal. I would like to pursue this issue of the elderly because I am very interested in it, how different countries treat the elderly. If you can supply us with anything in that area, I would be very interested to see it.

Ms. **Laber**. I will certainly do that.

[The information referred to appears in the appendix.]

Senator **Pressler**. Thank you.

Ms. **Laber**. I would also like to say a few words, if I may, about emigration from Romania. It is true that the numbers are higher than elsewhere in Eastern Europe, but it is also true that the number of people seeking to emigrate is very much higher than elsewhere in Eastern Europe, where it is high to begin with.

Senator **Pressler**. Now how do you know that? Is that based on the applications for visa?

Ms. **Laber**. It's based on applications for visas, yes. We get calls all the time from people.

Senator **Pressler**. Do we know the number of applications for visas to leave Eastern Europe? Can you give us some concrete evidence of the numbers for the various East European states?

Ms. **Laber**. I can tell you that I met with people in Romania who had been called by the U.S. Consulate there to discuss their applications for visas and could not get in the door because they were arrested by the Romanian police every time they approached the embassy.

Senator **Pressler**. I am not doubting what you are saying at all. I am just trying to get something concrete.

Ms. LABER. What I am saying is that even the U.S. Embassy staff in Bucharest could not give you those figures because they don't know about the people who cannot get to see them.

Senator PRESSLER. However, you said that those selecting to leave Romania account for the highest percentage of people seeking to leave any Eastern European country. Thus, I wonder what percentage your comment is based on.

Ms. LABER. Well, I cannot give you absolute facts. I can give you my considered impression. I have received hundreds of letters over the years from relatives of people who have been seeking to emigrate both to Germany and to the United States.

Senator PRESSLER. Our third guest this afternoon is Mr. Laszlo Hámos. Mr. Hámos is the co-founder and chairman of the Committee for Human Rights in Romania, a New York-based nation-wide organization formed in 1976 to monitor the fate of Romania's sizeable ethnic minorities.

Since Most Favored Nation status was first granted to Romania in 1975, Mr. Hámos has testified at most of the hearings held before the Senate Finance and House Ways and Means Committees regarding its extension. He has authored or co-authored 20 detailed reports on human rights developments in Romania.

Mr. Hámos and other members of the committee participated in the Helsinki Review Conferences at Madrid, Ottawa and Budapest as nongovernmental organizational representatives. He also serves as a consultant to the media and other international human rights organizations.

Mr. Hámos served as editor and one of the translators of the 1979 book, "Witnesses to Cultural Genocide: First-hand Reports on Romania's Minority Policies Today."

We look forward to your statement.

STATEMENT OF LÁSZLÓ HÁMOS, CHAIRMAN, COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN ROMANIA

Mr. HÁMOS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I feel honored by the opportunity to testify before this Committee, and I commend you for scheduling this hearing.

The point of my testimony, Mr. Chairman, is that U.S. policy toward Romania has been based on false premises for quite some time now. It vastly overvalues what is regarded as Romania's relative independence in foreign relations, and it ignores the most brutal human rights violations committed by any East European government in recent times.

I argue that the formulation, management and execution of U.S. policy toward Eastern Europe is left to the second and third echelon bureaucrats in the State Department, who have neither the inclination nor the authority to innovate.

Indeed, for some of these officials, the notion of human rights as a component of our foreign policy represents a nuisance—a contemptible and thoroughly unprofessional preoccupation.

In our experience, it is these officials who have had a dominant role in the formulation and execution of U.S. policy toward Romania.

Mr. Chairman, you would be hardput to find a single person in Eastern Europe who thinks that the international posturing of President Ceausescu brings any benefit to the Romanian people, or to anyone but the Romanian dictator himself.

But when we seem to accept this posturing at face value and, in turn, ignore the savage violations of human rights his regime regularly commits, we appear either as cynical hypocrites and manipulators ourselves, or, at best, as a bunch of dupes. Either way, we waste the tremendous political capital we gained through our public stand on human rights.

Mr. Chairman, Romania's distinction in Eastern Europe does not lie in its foreign policy. Its distinction lies in being the only country in the region which has never undergone a process of de-Stalinization. It is a full-fledged Stalinist dictatorship, with the added feature of a pervasive nepotism on the part of the ruling dictator's family.

The central concern of my organization is Romania's oppressed national minorities, among them 2.5 million Hungarians—who comprise the largest national minority in Europe—about 350,000 Germans, and sizable numbers of Serbs, Turks, Ukranians, Jews, Greeks and others.

I want to emphasize, however, that no citizen of Romania, with the possible exception of some secret police and party types, experiences any benefit from Mr. Ceausescu's policies.

In my written statement, I provide a chronology of official anti-minority measures, the persecution of minorities, which can leave no doubt about the deliberate nature and the ultimate goal of Romania's nationality policy.

The destruction of the 405 year-old Hungarian Bolyai University; the closing of the last Hungarian high school this fall; the elimination of all minority language radio and TV programs last January; the closing of two Hungarian theaters in Transylvania this fall; the repeated interrogations of the poet Géza Szöcs; the torture of Father János Csilik; the continued imprisonment for over 3 years now of the three Transylvanian Hungarians Ernö Borbély, László Buzás and Béla Páll—all these measures can have no other explanation but the existence of a deliberate policy to forcibly denationalize Romania's minorities.

The case of the prominent Transylvanian-Hungarian actor, Árpád Visky, typifies how the state secret police, the dreaded "Securitate," deals with minority dissidents. On several occasions in the past, Visky had dared to comment in public on the arbitrary conduct of Romania's secret police, as well as the terror against minorities prevailing in Romania.

On January 5, 1986, Visky's body was found in a forest, outside the Transylvanian town of Sfintul Gheorghe (Sepsiszentgyorgy)—where he had been hanged by the secret police.

Surely, Mr. Chairman, a Congress and an administration which purport to hold Romania's human rights behavior as a major condition for extension of Most Favored Nation status should take vigorous steps to investigate this tragedy.

How many more acts of barbaric killing are necessary to produce genuine concern, backed by a willingness to impose sanctions, by our own Government?

Simple human decency, if not the enormous economic and political leverage the U.S. Government could bring to bear over this tinpot dictator Nicolae Ceausescu, would warrant a firm response. At the very least, our Government should support and facilitate the demand made by scores of world-reknowned writers who, upon hearing of this tragedy, this death, during the recent International PEN Congress held in New York, quickly signed the declaration attached to my written statement.

The declaration, while deploring the death of Árpad Visky, and another helpless victim already mentioned by Jeri Laber—the Romanian engineer and poet, Gheorghe Ursu—simply calls upon the Romanian authorities, and I quote from the declaration: "To allow an impartial, on-site inquiry into the causes of each death by an internationally recognized human rights group. '

For our Government to do any less, for it to remain disinterested and unmoved, while continuing to blithely reward Romania with trade and political favors, would amount to a mockery of the moral and democratic principles upon which our country was built.

Mr. Chairman, I and members of my organization have spent 10 years now investigating these abuses, collecting the evidence and presenting it to our Congress and to the State Department. While I have found considerable sympathy in the Congress, our State Department seems too enamoured of Mr. Ceausescu to concern itself with matters as trifling as the force denationalization of 1/6 of all Hungarians in the world. Mr. Ceausescu, in the meantime, has learned long ago that our public stand on human rights is simply not to be taken seriously. The more brutal his policies are, the less chance that we react in any meaningful fashion.

Indeed, one conclusion I have drawn from 10 years of human rights work is that often our Congress and State Department are more likely to act in the case of a relatively mild human rights violation than in the case of a serious one.

Everyone loves to write letters, to secure a visa for a family visit. Or, to give another example, when I was initially denied a visa to attend the Budapest Cultural Forum last October—an insignificant diplomatic foul-up—it was the talk of the relevant bureaus of the State Department and the Helsinki Commission for days. But I have yet to see 1/10 of that interest expended on a case such as the case of Father Géza Pálfi, the Hungarian Catholic priest in Romania who was beaten to death because of a Christmas Eve sermon. It was a well-documented case, even according to our then-Ambassador to Romania.

Or, how about the notorious case of the 20,000 Hungarian Bibles recycled into toilet paper in Romania, another set of facts which has been thoroughly documented. The evidence was presented at a press conference and a Senate hearing on Capitol Hill. The result—uneasy silence. Why this odd reaction? It's very simple. These cases are so outrageous, so sacrilegious, so violative of any norm of human decency that a simple insert into the "Congressional Record" would no longer do the trick.

Everyone realizes that to react would require that we do something serious for a change.

Now, there is no thought more frightening than that, that is, doing something serious about a human rights violation. Everybody knows that we are all for human rights, but strictly on a cost-free, bargain-basement basis. No pain, please. If someone talks to us about 20,000 Bibles turned into toilet paper, we will listen, we will look stunned, we will shift around uncomfortably in our seats—and then let's change the subject.

Mr. Chairman, I hope you will excuse my ironic tone, but 10 years of following our foreign policy with respect to Mr. Ceausescu has taken its toll.

In sum, let me emphasize that our policy of indulging this primitive and brutal dictator serves no vital American interest and contributes nothing to a better future for the peoples of Eastern and Central Europe. On the other hand, it undermines our credibility and reveals the hypocritical nature of our human rights pronouncements.

One last thought: the Ceausescu is coming to an end. The tyrant is close to 70 years old now, and he is reportedly gravely ill. Change will probably follow his passing—change probably for the better, because it is hard to see what could be worse for the inhabitants of Romania.

Why is it that we must always be identified with the old, the oppressive, the rotten, the corrupt? Why can't we break now with this despicable tyrant and when change comes, be identified with that change? Such an act would send a far more powerful message of hope to the peoples of Eastern Europe than all the contemptible kowtowing to Mr. Ceausescu over the past 10 years, lumped into one.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Hámos appears in the appendix.]

Senator **Pressler**. Thank you very much.

I have some questions that I would like to address to the three of you and perhaps to individual members of the panel.

Public image was undoubtedly a large factor in the Government's decision to allow Billy Graham to preach in Romania in September 1985. Similarly, in a move seemingly related to congressional hearings, two celebrated dissidents were allowed to emigrate in 1985. Are these results indicative of the type of response that the United States can have from public pressure or from the annual renewal of MFN? Are they just propaganda? Are they lasting? What do they mean?

Ms. **Laber**. I think we have seen a pattern over the years. There's a flurry of activity on the part of the Romanian Government just before the annual MFN hearings. Gestures are made. If they can be dramatic, all the better. But the minute the hearings have passed and MFN has been renewed, Romania goes right back to its previous policies, often not even keeping some of the recent commitments it has just made.

Mr. **Hámos**. I'd like to agree and say that these have been merely token gestures. I would also emphasize the real economic and political leverage that the United States does carry vis-a-vis Romania. Don't forget that Romania is a small country on the verge of economic crisis, or really in the midst of economic crisis, and it is in great need of such economic benefits.

So this is a country that cannot afford to pay attention to U.S. concerns over human rights. But such concerns have not been expressed vigorously enough in our opinion, and that accounts at least in part for the Romanian attitude of making mere token gestures around the time of MFN renewal.

Mr. **English**. Certainly, speaking from the viewpoint of the Department of State, the leverage provided by public hearings on MFN was useful in obtaining the release of two dissidents as well as resolving a number of human rights cases.

Father Calciu, for example, told us and several Members of Congress, following his arrival in the United States, that MFN was directly responsible for his release from prison and subsequent emigration out of Romania.

In terms of these individuals freedoms, the benefits are lasting.

While MFN's leverage is limited, it can provide results on certain occasions. Its suspension would greatly reduce our ability to favorably resolve such cases, and it would also reduce the access of our religious and human rights communities to Romania and thus our ability to monitor human rights abuses.

Senator **Pressler**. In theory, the sizable Hungarian, German, Jewish, and other minorities enjoy the same rights as ethnic Romanians. Recently, however, these groups, especially the Hungarians, have been subject to increasing discrimination.

A program of "Romanianization" apparently continues, with university studies in Hungarian and German sharply curtailed. Libraries are removed from their ethnic regions and provincial language schools have been closed.

With that in mind, and with the Hungarian minority issue that has been a serious source of disagreement between Romania and Hungary, has the policy of "Romanianization" also affected other Warsaw Pact relations? Has it had any type of permanent and damaging bilateral effect with the countries in that area?

Mr. **Hámos**. There has been some dispute between Hungary and Romania over this issue, but it is not nearly as much dispute as would be required under the circumstances. What I mean is that the Hungarian Government has not taken vigorous efforts to protest the gross violations of human rights of 2.5 million Hungarians in Romania.

To my knowledge, the relationship between Hungary and Romania in terms of this minority problem has not extended to any other bilateral relationships in Eastern Europe. But the Hungarian Government can definitely be faulted in this realm for not protesting, for not taking up this issue and representing it sufficiently.

Senator **Pressler**. It has been alleged that the Romanian Government has caught the United States in a "catch-22 'by forcing us to accept undesirables from Romania who do not fit our asylum criteria and who are only refugees because the Romanian Government strips them of their citizenship to force them out. How many of these has the United States been forced to accept? How many are pending? What have we done to rectify the situation?

Mr. **English**. Mr. Chairman, first it is necessary to clarify the term "undesirable."

The group some have referred to as "undesirable" being dumped by the Romanian Government were, in fact, a group of several thousand Romanians who had evinced interest in emigrating to the United States and who had been issued exit documentation by the Government of Romania. Rather than being undesirable, they were unqualified for immediate entry into the United States.

We have not been forced to accept any undesirables. To be qualified for the United States, Romanians must be eligible for immigrant visas or eligible for refugee admission under the TCP Program or as visa 93 refugees. They must also meet all other eligibility requirements as cited in the Immigration and Nationality Act.

The most recent figure on those Romanians who have exit documents with the United States as their destination, as cited by Romanian authorities, is 1,300 persons. Many Romanians with exit documents are pending immigrant visa applicants for whom quota numbers are not currently available, and at least in some instances for whom quota numbers may not be available for several years to come.

Other Romanians with exit documents believed they might enter the United States under the TCP Program, but they were not registered prior to August 27, 1982, nor did they obtain their exit documents prior to January 2, 1984.

These Romanians are not necessarily undesirable; they are just not qualified for U.S. admission under our current entry programs. Only a very few of those with exit documents who may be qualified for entry consideration are found to be ineligible under the criteria set forth in our immigration law and visa regulations.

Let me repeat that the United States has not been forced to accept anyone. The U.S. position is very clear and firm, that we have no obligation to anyone based simply on the fact that he or she has received exit documents for the purpose of immigration to the United States. Our law precludes admission of aliens who do not meet certain criteria, whether or not they are stateless, whether or not a foreign government seeks their departure for the United States.

Those who may be qualified in the future and are otherwise found to be eligible can be processed for U.S. admission.

Recent revisions of the Government of Romania's emigration policies pursuant to Mr. Derwinski's interventions with the government provide that those with exit documents, who have no hope of U.S. admission in the near future, may return their exit documents and have all rights restored. Those who have lost Romanian citizenship and have been declared stateless may apply to regain their Romanian citizenship.

Senator **PRESSLER**. This is my last question, though I do have some more for the record.

Counselor Derwinski testified before the International Trade Subcommittee of the Senate Finance Committee on July 23, 1985, that the new procedures for a letter of eligibility from the United States Embassy would insure that Romanian passport approval would no longer involve loss of citizenship, jobs, access to social services, or other hardships.

Has this, in fact, occurred? Are those attempting to emigrate no longer harassed?

Mr. **ENGLISH**. Well, in fact, the procedures are relatively new, and we believe that one of the problems is that many of the Romanians who would ordinarily be expected to turn in their exit documents and receive the certificates, which, in Romanian, are called adiverinta, have been reluctant to exchange their exit documents for the "adiverinta," in hope that some day they may be able to get out of Romania.

That aspect of the new agreement has only partially been implemented. It is new at this time, and we will have to see whether the attitudes of the people who have not been registered with the U.S. Embassy and who have these documents will change, because the United States does not have an obligation to them based on the fact that they have exit documents from their own government.

Senator PRESSLER. Thank you.

I have some additional questions for the record which I will submit.

Senator DODD.

Senator DODD. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I want to welcome our witnesses and I would also like to recognize, if I could, Mr. Chairman, a constituent of mine from Connecticut, who has been hear at these hearings all day, Rev. Alexander Havadtoy of Fairfield, CT.

Reverend, we are delighted to have you with us.

In fact, Mr. Chairman, it may be worthwhile to note, it does not involve the specific issue before us, but Reverend Havadtoy went through the painstaking work of making a documentation, a year or so, I believe. Senator Ribicoff, my predecessor, was very successful in his capacity as chairman of the Trade Subcommittee of the Finance Committee in allowing for Bibles in Hungarian to be shipped into Romania because of the absence of them. They disappeared. We could not find out what had happened to them.

We ultimately discovered that what had happened was that they had not been shredded, and the paper used had become toilet paper. Rev. Havadtoy took the rolls of toilet paper and went over them. The printing was still on it from the Bible. They were not effectively processed in such a way as to eliminate the print. They were able to point to the specific parts of the Bible that showed up on the actual rolls of paper.

That work of his has drawn tremendous attention and highlights bizarre behavior. It is hard, I think, for us to understand this. It leaves me dumbfounded that these kinds of things go on.

Ms. Laber, I want to commend you for the work you have done over the years with Helsinki Watch.

Ms. LABER. Thank you.

Senator DODD. You have been tireless. Your testimony was compelling, as always, on these issues.

I think the recommendation that you have suggested in this particular case makes sense, because I find myself, and have over the years, in a quandary of what to do with MFN status. Obviously it is not just a question of government-to-government relations. There are an awful lot of people in Romania, who, as bleak as the picture is, hold out some hope that things will get better. If you cut it all off, what do you do? If you go forward, what message are you sending?

It is a terrible quandary and a terrible position to be in. So I commend you for your testimony.

Also, László Hámos is a friend of mine as well, Mr. Chairman. He is an individual for whom I have a great deal of respect.

I don't know if you were in the room here this morning——

Mr. Hámos. Yes, I was.

Senator Dodd [continuing]. When we were talking about the Hungarian minority, a point I raised.

You were around almost 10 years ago when we were working on this. Ed Koch was then a Congressman. Father Bob Drinan was a Congressman that I served with on the Judiciary Committee in the House. We were, I think, rather patient at the time. We did not oppose MFN status in those days, and raised the questions, had resolutions introduced, and so forth, that would call for reforms in Romania. In fact, we all testified before the Ways and Means Committee in those days, when these issues came up.

We passed those resolutions. Let me ask you what the effect was of those resolutions. There are today suggestions that we do the same thing, in a sense, a 6 month cutoff period, calling for specific things, to occur in the area of human rights.

What prospects would you hold out for the success of such a resolution in light of earlier efforts along the same lines?

Mr. Hámos. I recall very well that you and several others in the House followed the situation with regard to Romania very closely. You were very consistent in your attention to this problem, as you have been throughout your years in the Congress.

But I would remind you that you ultimately did call for the denial of most-favored-nation status.

Senator Dodd. Yes, we did, eventually.

Mr. Hámos. This goes back 6 or 7 years.

I think that the record from those years shows that the various threats that were made were made in a disjunctive fashion. They were never really followed up by action.

I think what is shown by the record over the past 10 years of having renewed MFN time and again is that because the sanction was never really applied, the leverage never came into effect. It was never really used. Leverage is only effective if it is used.

And, in fact, what emerges from the record from those years is that the threats were empty, we were never willing to follow them up with action. So I believe now, more than ever, it would be a significant improvement over this policy to follow up these threats with action.

If anything, over the past 10 years, the Romanians have gotten the message loud and clear that we are willing to go along, we are willing to agree each time to more and more abuse. There should be no mistake about it. The situation, human rights conditions in Romania have deteriorated severely during the past 10 years.

Five years ago I could not have said that Hungarian minority advocates are being killed. Today I can.

There is much more physical brutality. The severity of the persecution of minorities, in particular, has grown much more severe. This, of course, is partly because of the economic crisis that the country is undergoing, because of mismanagement by the Ceausescu regime. The creation of an atmosphere of antiminority sentiment is something that is used by this government to detract attention, to detract attention away from everyday economic misery. The severity of this has become much greater over the past 2 to 3 years.

I would say, in sum, that the impact of our own, that is, the U.S. Government's involvement in this has been nothing. There have not been even token gestures.

Senator **DODD**. Well, Secretary Shultz was there, in Bucharest, not long ago, and, at least according to press reports, did some table pounding. He was not reluctant, apparently even publicly, to let it be known that he had raised in a very serious way the subject of human rights, that it is high on the agenda. It was widely reported that he was rather tough in his discussions with Romanian leaders about that subject.

Has there been any feedback from that particular experience, any reaction?

Mr. **HÁMOS**. I must tell you, Senator Dodd, that the results of that trip have been highly disappointing.

Just as an example, it has been since that time—on January 5 of this year to be exact—that Árpád Visky, who was a prominent Hungarian minority cultural figure, was killed by the secret police. Three Transylvanian Hungarians continue to remain in prison for periods over 3 years now.

There has been no improvement, not even a token improvement, as regards minority rights.

Now, I have to qualify that by saying that the deterioration is not surprising, since it seems that this problem was not even raised in Bucharest by Secretary of State Shultz.

I also want to tell you the personal experience that I have had in this regard.

Before the Shultz visit to Bucharest, members of our organization tried to get in to see him, or to see anyone who was going as a part of that delegation, to try to apprise them of the minorities' problems. We were refused down the line. During the visit, as far as I know, these issues were not raised. And I have conducted as thorough an investigation as I could to determine whether they were.

After the visit, we tried to pay a visit to Counselor Derwinski or to anyone else who had been a part of that delegation. What we did get was a token 2 minutes of small talk from Counselor Derwinski. In fact, I was accompanied on that trip by someone I believe you know, Sándór Csoóri, the writer from Hungary, who, as all Hungarians, has a very vital interest in this issue.

But, in sum, I would say that the record on this visit and in general the State Department efforts vis-a-vis Romania have been very dismal.

Senator **DODD**. What about the President's visit in Geneva with Mr. Gorbachev? First of all, do you think it would have been appropriate to raise this issue there?

Friends of mine who are very active in the Solidarity movement in Poland had raised the issue of whether or not that is something the President should have raised in his meeting with Mr. Gorbachev. He apparently did not.

I am curious as to whether or not you think it would have been appropriate for the President to have raised the issue of Romania in his meeting with Gorbachev?

Mr. HÁMOS. I don't see how it could have hurt.

I think that, quite apart from the Soviet Union, the Romanian regime, on its own, is as oppressive as the Soviet Union, perhaps even more so in some areas, in some respects. But certainly it would not have had a negative impact on Ceausescu to have even Gorbachev tell him that he may have gone too far.

Senator DODD. I have just a few more quick questions, if I can, Mr. Chairman. One has to do with the Hungarian minority in Romania, which we have talked a bit about here this morning. I have noted, as well, that in the past, when we raised the issue over the last decade, we were generally talking about cultural deprivation—libraries, schools and the like. But lately, it seems to have become far more serious, with actual physical violence.

There was the question of emigration, though, of the Hungarian minority in Romania to Hungary. I was under the impression that the Hungarian minority really was not interested, except maybe in individual cases, but as a general proposition they do not want to emigrate to Hungary, but rather they want the right to be able to maintain their culture and identity within the sovereignty, if you will, of Romania. A report we had prepared for us by the committee suggests that the Romanian Government does not allow the Hungarian minority in Romania to emigrate.

Is that correct?

Mr. HÁMOS. I think your prior characterization of the problem is the accurate one. It is exactly right.

The Hungarian minority in Romania does not want to emigrate en masse. We are talking about a people, a group of people, a nationality, a nation, that has lived in this region for 11 centuries. This is about four times longer than any average non-Indian citizen of the United States can say his own ancestors have lived here. It's four times that long.

These people are in their homeland. They are in their own country. They should be granted, they should be guaranteed conditions which would make them want them to stay, not force them to emigrate.

It's a very sad situation when someone gets to the point where they have to emigrate. My own parents are immigrants from Hungary—my father actually from the region that used to be Hungary, which is now Czechoslovakia, my mother from Romania.

I know it was not a happy decision for them to make, to make the decision to have to leave.

The United States is a country of immigrants, and we tend to overvalue or place a greater importance on the value of emigration. What would have far more significant impact is if the United States would encourage that conditions in Romania be created which would not force people to leave.

Then there is another problem with regard to the Hungarian minority: We are talking about 2.5 million people. Where are they going to go? The population of Hungary itself is not even 11 million. There simply wouldn't even be room for them.

I also want to add something to what Counselor Derwinski said this morning when you were not here, and what I just heard recently. Although our organization does not deal with emigration, I want to say that we do handle occasional individual cases that come to our attention. And the supposed new agreement with the Romanian authorities on easing the conditions for emigration, in my own personal experience, simply has not been lived up to.

I know of specific cases where people have lost jobs and been deprived of apartments because they applied to emigrate.

Now, I emphasize that this is not one of the key concerns of our organizations. But, in point of fact, I should add that the people who deal with Jewish emigration, the people who are experts on that, say quite the contrary of what we have heard here by the State Department. In fact, the numbers have fallen since MFN was granted as opposed to before that time.

Senator DODD. How would you describe Hungarian reaction, official reaction, to the treatment of the Hungarian minority in Romania?

Mr. HÁMOS. Do you mean the reaction of the Government of Hungary?

Senator DODD. Right.

Mr. HÁMOS. It has not really reacted in any vocal sense. There have been minor indications that the 25 years or 30 years, of postwar silence on this issue are being somewhat broken. I can cite a speech that the Hungarian delegation at the Ottawa human rights experts meeting gave, or another speech that was given at the Budapest cultural forum—these are both Helsinki review meetings that I happened to attend. The issue was skirted. It was alluded to by the Hungarian authorities, by the Hungarian delegation members there. But given the severity of the oppression that occurs in Romania, this has been an extremely timid and not really effective representation of what would, after all, be primarily the Hungarian Government's responsibility.

Senator DODD. For whatever it's worth, and this goes back more than 2 years since I was in Hungary, but on several occasions in my meeting with dissidents and others, on several occasions I was personally thanked for what I was doing about the Hungarian minority in Romania. They did not say this in a public way, but made a point, of saying by the way, we want to thank you for what you are doing about the Hungarian minority in Romania.

So, it's not that they are unaware. They brought it up. I did not bring it up. I suspect I have not been alone in that situation, and that others have been in similar situations.

Mr. HÁMOS. Undoubtedly, on a personal basis, they all have very strong feelings. But it should be added that it's not unusual, it's not surprising, that the Hungarian Government cannot take a more aggressive role on this issue.

Hungary's foreign policy is made in Moscow, and the Soviet Union would have the most to fear from national minority problems being raised openly between its allies, within the Soviet bloc, since the Soviet Union itself has an enormous national minority problem of its own.

Senator DODD. Thank you.

Ms. Laber, let me quickly ask you this. Mr. Hámos has suggested that the situation has actually gotten worse over the last 5 years, that in addition to the cultural emigration problems, there actually is an increase in physical abuse. You have cited a number of cases in your testimony of examples of that.

Is that a fair characterization in your assessment?

Ms. **Laber**. Yes; it most definitely is.

I think the situation today in Romania is as bad as it has been ever, and I think it is worse than anywhere else in the communist bloc at this point. It is a combination of economic deprivation and a totalitarian regime, plus a dictator unequaled in that part of the world, who really is setting his own rules in certain ways that we have not seen before.

Have you been to Romania yourself? There is a cult of personality there which reminds me of the days of Josef Stalin. You don't see that in other Warsaw Pact countries these days.

Senator **Dodd**. As I understand it, Mr. English, the State Department, the administration, has not yet taken a formal position, is that right?

Mr. **English**. Not on renewal of MFN, as far as it is a forthcoming issue later this year. No.

Senator **Dodd**. Well, I am sure you will. Obviously the testimony of Mr. Hámos is very, very important. I think the Helsinki Watch has such a terrific record on things that I would urge you to take a strong look at the recommendations that have been made there.

I will tell you, candidly, from this one member—and I am only one out of a big committee, out of the whole Senate—that is about the best I could do for you under the circumstances, and that is a 6-month delay. That may be doing more than many would prefer that I do.

I am afraid you would not get much more out of this member on this side of the committee on this particular issue.

I hope you will take that into consideration, and we look forward to the recommendations that you will make.

Mr. Chairman, I apologize for having gone on for so long.

Senator **Pressler**. We have a vote and we are about 7 minutes into it. We will recess for a few minutes.

We are finished with this panel and we thank you all very much.

I shall return here in about 10 minutes.

Thank you very much.

The subcommittee is in recess.

[A brief recess was taken.]

Senator **Pressler**. I will call this hearing back to order.

We have a 4 P.M. panel of various Congressmen and Senators whom we will not keep waiting, however, it might be wise for us to consider timing.

What is your preference?

Senator **Trible**. I am told that the Congressmen were told to arrive at 4:30 P.M. I suggest that we call Jeff Collins at this point, he is here and prepared to testify. We can then accommodate our congressional colleagues as they arrive.

Senator **Pressler**. That's fine with me. It has also been requested that we hear John W. Crossley of East Watch International, and the Christian Rescue Effort for the Emancipation of Dissidents.

Mr. Crossley and Mr. Collins, please come forward. If a Senator or Congressman comes in, we will hear from them at their convenience.

Whichever of you wishes to proceed first, please do. We welcome you both. If some of the Congressmen do come early, perhaps we will yield to them if they are in a hurry or have schedules to meet.

We will hear from each of you at this point.

Senator TRIBLE. Mr. Collins, why don't you begin, with the concurrence of the Chairman.

Senator PRESSLER. All right. And if you could each limit your remarks to about 8 minutes, we will submit your written material for the record, and we thank you very much.

STATEMENT OF REV. JEFFREY A. COLLINS, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, CHRISTIAN RESPONSE INTERNATIONAL, WASHINGTON, DC

Reverend COLLINS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for the opportunity to testify this afternoon regarding the plight of Christians in Romania. We have our written statement, which is available to you, but I would like to speak to you from my heart this afternoon.

After having been in Romania three times during the last 18 months with various Congressmen, White House staffers, and members of the British Parliament, on goodwill missions into Romania, to meet with Romanian Christians themselves and to investigate accusations or reports that we have been receiving in our offices in Switzerland and the United States of religious persecution, let me say that we thoroughly enjoyed our time in the churches of Romania. We visited many denominations. We met with leaders of all the denominations. We met with the Department of Cults in Bucharest. We met also with the Foreign Minister on two occasions, and with other dignitaries.

The situations which we found in Romania on some occasions were much worse than had been reported to us prior to our arrival. The first congressional trip that we made back in December of 1984, 30 days before we arrived, the Bistrita Baptist Church had been demolished on November 3. That church, when we arrived, was still in ruins. One corner of the church was still standing. Congressman Mark Siljander, his wife Nancy, two members of the British Parliament and Carolyn Sunset from the White House Office Public Liaison Department joined with me and with others in meeting with 300 Baptists on the ruins. That was on December 13, 1984, at 7 P.M. in the evening. It was snowing. The temperature was about 25 degrees and the service lasted for over 3 hours.

We found the Romanians to be a very spiritual people, who have suffered a lot. That particular church was demolished solely because of a building code violation, but it was a situation which was practically unavoidable. The church had requested for 2 years for a building permit to enlarge its present facility. The building permit was granted by the district government but was denied by the city government.

After 2 years of having its people standing outside in the cold and looking in the windows of the church, and standing in rain and snow to listen to the services, they decided to go ahead and enlarge the building, based simply upon the district permit.

When they finally had almost completed the building and were simply adding finishing touches inside, the district government then approved their building permit, but they approved it for one meter less than what the church had enlarged it to. The government then said that the church was in violation of the building code, and ordered the church demolished.

The church itself was ordered to tear down its own building. They refused to do so. The government then sent in a demolition crew and, after having destroyed the building, sent a bill to the church.

We are concerned about reports, not reports but the factual evidence that has been given to us, regarding the arrest of Christians for distributing Bibles and Christian literature.

Two noted prisoners today are Dorel Catarama, a Seventh Day Adventist, who is now serving a 14.5 year prison sentence at hard labor, and Constantin Sfatcu, a Baptist, who was arrested on April 19, 1985, when he was found driving a car containing more than 600 Bibles and children's books, Christian books.

Both men have been charged with crimes other than distributing Bibles. If they had been charged accordingly, that would be an embarrassment to the Romanian Government and the West.

Instead, Dorel Catarama, who is now serving a 14.5 year prison sentence, was charged with embezzling funds from his factory. The facts are that his boss at the factory signed an affidavit saying that Dorel had never stolen anything from the factory, had never been involved in embezzlement, but was one of the more outstanding workers and honest workers that he had employed.

In the case of Constantin Sfatcu, he was charged with the attempted murder of a police officer. What really happened was that the police officer approached the car, and Constantin Sfatcu was ordered to stop in a regular roadblock situation in his home town. The policeman approached the car. Constantin was nervous. When we met with his family, they described the following circumstances. His foot slipped off the brake and onto the gas, the car jumped forward about two meters, the policeman grabbed the steering wheel and in the process scratched the back of his hand. But Constantin Sfatcu was charged with the attempted murder of a police officer.

The real problem, though, was the 600 Bibles and Christian children's books.

We are concerned not only about the arrest of various Christian leaders, but about torture tactics used by the Romanian Government. During the past year, a number of Baptists and Brethren Christians, while undergoing interrogation, have been put into what is called a "robot machine, 'which is an electrical device which continually sends punches to the body, hitting them on all sides, circling the body and thrusting blows at the body. On other occasions, people have been put into rubber suits which were then filled with water, and then they were beaten on their legs and feet with sticks.

Still, in some of the more severe cases, on Christmas Day, 1983, Father Geza Palfi, a Roman Catholic priest, in his Christmas Day sermon said I believe that in Romania Christmas should be a legal holiday. For that severe "crime, Fa'ther Palfi was arrested on December 26, the following day. He was interrogated for several days in the Tiru Mures police station, and then he was hospitalized for 2 months. After that 2 month period, he died in the hospital. The Romanian Government said that he died of melanoma of the liver; but all evidence indicates that he died of severe liver damage which was caused by beatings at the police station.

We are concerned about the seminaries of Romania, which are not permitted to enroll the students that they wish to enroll. Right now, the Baptist Church alone, the official Baptist Church, has more than 1,000 congregations. They have only 200 ministers. There is a severe shortage of ministers. But next year, they will only be permitted to have 8 new students at the seminary, and they have about 300 applicants.

The Government of Rumania is severely controlling the churches to the point that they hope the churches will no longer exist in the country. Many churches, which badly need refurbishing from the earthquake back in 1976 and many whose congregations have more than outgrown their facilities, these churches are not permitted building permits.

My question is does this type of behavior deserve to be rewarded by freedom-loving peoples of the United States? Should Rumania have preferential trade status? Should we economically assist and thereby maintain in power such a barbaric society, which is murdering Christians, buldozing churches, turning Bibles into toilet paper, and abusing its own citizens?

While certainly Rumania may have made some slight improvements in its emigration policy, it's a shame that we reward that country. Right now, our present economic policy toward Rumania, with most-favored-nation trade status, is rewarding a country for maintaining a system of tyranny within its borders that encourages people to emigrate.

Our economic foreign policy I believe should be geared toward creating such a climate within the country that the people will not want to leave their country, but will want to remain there and will be able to enjoy religious freedom and other human rights, which are guaranteed not only by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations but also by the Helsinki Final Act.

Thank you very much for the opportunity to share these views with you today.

I would be glad to answer any questions that you might have.

[The prepared statement of Rev. Collins appears in the appendix.]

Senator PRESSLER. Thank you.

Mr. CROSSLEY.

Senator TRIBLE. Mr. Chairman, Congressman Hall has arrived, and you indicated that perhaps we could interrupt the testimony of our two witnesses to permit the Comgressmen to testify and get back to their schedules.

Senator PRESSLER. Yes.

Senator TRIBLE. Congressman Hall is here and he is prepared to testify.

Senator PRESSLER. Yes, we will ask him to appear now as a courtesy to him.

We welcome you here.

Senator TRIBLE. Mr. Chairman, may I simply——

Senator PRESSLER. Just let me say it. I have a little introductory comment.

Senator **Trible**. Oh, that's great. I didn't know you knew him, Tony Hall, well enough to introduce him.

Senator **Pressler**. Yes, indeed.

We welcome Tony Hall here today.

Mr. Hall is a fourth term Representative from Ohio's Third District. He serves as ranking majority member of the Select Committee on Hunger and chairs its International Task Force.

He is also one of two House Members on the Steering Committee of the Congressional Friends of the Human Rights Monitors.

We welcome you and look forward to your statement.

Senator **Trible**. May I also welcome him as an old friend.

Tony Hall is a good Democrat from Ohio. He has visited Rumania. He has seen the problems about which we have heard today first hand. He has seen the religious persecution that is of particular concern to me.

He has spoken to those people whose basic freedoms are so violated and can share that firsthand experience with us, and speaks from that perspective.

He is an active member of the Rules Committee, as you suggested. He is also one of the leaders in the House in framing a response to the problems of hunger in the world.

For all that, I commend him, and I am pleased to join you in welcoming him here today.

STATEMENT OF HON. TONY P. HALL, A U.S. REPRESENTATIVE FROM OHIO

Congressman **Hall**. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and thank you, Senator Trible, for your very, very kind remarks.

I have written testimony, but I will not read it. If I may, I would like for it to be a part of the record.

Senator **Pressler**. Without objection, we will be happy to place it in the record.

Congressman **Hall**. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I truly congratulate you for having this hearing. It is a very, very important hearing. And I certainly congratulate Senator Trible and Senator Armstrong not only for their support on this issue but for their introduction of legislation relative to what is before us and what I am sure has been discussed today.

I, along with my friend, Jeff Collins, of Christian Response International, and Congressman Frank Wolf, Congressman Chris Smith, along with my wife, who also went, and some other House colleagues and staff—went to Romania last July. We went for a couple of reasons, mainly in response to the terrible human rights conditions that we had heard about, but, most importantly, our concern for the Christians who were being persecuted in Romania.

Even before I went over there, all anyone had to do, was to read several reports, one put out by Christian Response International, one put out by Amnesty International, and our own State Department's country reports on human rights. One could judge from their very clear and very strong language that there is great persecution of Christians.

We took the opportunity to travel there and we spoke with many government officials. We visited in many churches in various parts of the country. We felt the pulse of the people.

There is no question that there is religious repression, when you see churches that have been bulldozed, when you see people who have been tortured, when you see Bibles that have been turned into toilet paper, and when you see people who have been detailed and transferred around the country from one particular region to another for a variety of reasons, so that they could not teach and could not preach. All of these things together with the tremendous emotion that we felt in the various churches, was overwhelming. After we had spoken in the various churches in Romania, we were met by scores of people who would stuff notes in our pockets, into our hands, at great risk to themselves, telling us about their plight and some of the problems they had had, some of the persecution, some of the most amazing things that went on.

In our talks with Romanian officials, to a "T 'they all said the same story: There is no persecution over here. There is no persecution over here. They kept saying that there is no persecution over here. It was almost like it came out of the same textbook.

And yet, all anybody had to do was read the reports, No. 1, and see it for yourself, talk to the people, and you would know, in fact, that they were telling the truth. To see the tremendous emotion and to hear their stories and to feel it the way we did, we could draw the conclusion, the overwhelming conclusion, that, in fact, there are some very, very serious problems in Romania.

We talked to Government officials, specifically the Foreign Minister of Romania. We presented many cases to him. We urged him to do everything to alleviate this tremendous persecution that was going on. But to no avail.

Since then, I think one person has been released, Father Calciu. Father Calciu is a fine man. Many of you might have met him. There are a number of groups that had worked on his release.

If Father Calciu were here today, he would tell you, as he told us, that we have to continue to fight on for these people.

To give the Romanians the favored status that they have with our Nation is, to me, unbelievable. I think we need to get their attention by temporarily suspending MFN for 6 months.

This is just one step. Depending on who you are talking to, a lot of people would love to go farther than this. Some people would not even want to do this. But this, I think, is the first step in a way of saying to the Government that we care about the people of Romania, we care about what's going on, we know that, in fact, they are persecuting the Christians over there, and we want them to let off.

We don't even want to get to this point, and we have been waiting for months to see some kind of letup. But there has been no letup at all. For us to even take this position, introducing legislation to try to get their attention, is something that we had hoped we would not have to do. But, in fact, we are here today with legislation and we thank Senator Trible and Senator Armstrong for their similar efforts in this body.

I again congratulate them and I congratulate you, Mr. Chairman, for having this most important hearing.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Hall appears in the appendix.]

Senator PRESSLER. Thank you very much. I think sometimes in travelling to these countries, we get a first-hand view. Foreign travel is sometimes criticized, but I think the convictions you bring illustrate very much the value of seeing things on a first-hand basis. I thank you very much for your contribution here.

Senator Trible, do you have any questions?

Senator TRIBLE. Yes, just a quick question of two.

Congressman Hall, Senator Armstrong and I have offered a companion bill to the bill that you and Congressmen Wolf and Smith have offered in the House of Representatives. How many co-sponsors do you have in the House of Representatives today?

Congressman HALL. We have 80 sponsors at this time. It is supported in a bipartisan fashion.

Senator TRIBLE. That is a substantial demonstration of support, I would say.

Congressman HALL. Well, we think so, and we really believe that we are going to be able to get a lot more signatures if we have more time to work on it.

Senator TRIBLE. Some apologists for the status quo in Romania suggest that if we take the action that you and I contemplate, it will make life more difficult for the Romanian people. I would counter that life in Romania is bad and getting worse, and this action, if it makes a difference, can only help.

I would benefit, as would my colleague, from your personal observations and personal discussions with the Romanian people in that regard.

Congressman HALL. I asked this question when I was in Romania, and I asked this question not only of that variety of people that we met, but specifically of the persecuted Christians themselves who live in Romania today. I asked what if we provided legislation to deal with this whole MFN question. We offered several alternatives and our legislation would be the least of some of them.

Every person I talked to said they would be much in favor of this because little progress is occurring now, nothing is happening. There is no direction that is coming from this Congress, coming from this country to these people. Somebody needs to be concerned and somebody needs to be sending the right kind of signals to the Government.

As a result of that, I asked the question of the very people who could be persecuted as a result of action like this. They responded, "We are already being persecuted, what more can they do?"

We do need to have some kind of action, and they would be very much in favor of this.

Senator TRIBLE. I thank you very much for your testimony, for your presence, and for your leadership.

Congressman HALL. Thank you.

Senator PRESSLER. Thank you very much.

I shall now call on Mr. Crossley.

STATEMENT OF JOHN W. CROSSLEY, CHAIRMAN, EAST WATCH INTERNATIONAL, ERWINNA, PA; AND CHAIRMAN, CREED, ALEXANDRIA, VA.

Mr. CROSSLEY. Thank you.

I would also like to express my thankfulness for being able to speak today, and I will include most of my written statement for the record and will keep this as brief as possible.

Senator PRESSLER. Would you pull the microphone as close to you as you can.

Mr. CROSSLEY. Yes.

I have also travelled to Romania extensively, two to three times, sometimes as many as four times a year, over the past 10 years.

Most of my associates in Romania are the Romanian people. They are believers. They are not government officials although I have had many experiences meeting with the officials of churches and the Department of Cults.

Senator TRIBLE. Mr. Chairman, I cannot find the gentleman's written statement.

To what written statement do you refer?

Senator PRESSLER. I don't think either of these two witnesses have a written statement?

Oh, they do.

Mr. CROSSLEY. My entire statement begins on page 20 of this particular magazine (indicating), of which I am the editor: "Reference Point: Reality. 'It covers pages 20 to 23. That is my written testimony.

Senator TRIBLE. All right. Thank you.

Mr. CROSSLEY. I would like to thank you again for this opportunity to be able to give testimony today and to express my opinion that in many ways the religious situation in Romania is misunderstood, misrepresented, and, whereas I greatly appreciate the concern expressed here on behalf of religious liberty, especially for specific human rights cases—I am deeply appreciative of that—I must assert that people could very easily get the opinion that in Romania, the church is a church of the catacombs and that the priests are officiating their services in chains.

That is not the case.

It is my hope that my testimony can in some way help to rectify this misconception.

To understand Romania's religious situation, one must first realize that the most prominent church in Romania is the Orthodox Church, with more than 10,000 priests, 12,000 places of worship, and nearly 18 million baptized believers.

The churches are very well attended, and there is a surprising increase in the attendance of young people and members of the laboring class.

The church is very important in subtle ways within the lives of people, and particularly in the villages and in the rural areas. The priests are held in very high esteem, and some of the most difficult struggles within the society for the allegiance of the people's hearts and minds are between the priests and the local party secretaries.

The Orthodox Church has tremendous social power. Last year, for example, during the dedication of a new church, some 4,000 people left work on a regular working day to attend the dedication of the church, and there were no official repercussions. Keep in mind Romania's economic situation.

It is because of this strength that there could be many other social problems manifested. The Orthodox Church does not encourage the growth of neo-Protestant churches. And there is, within the Orthodox memory, a reaction against the Hungarian Catholic Church from conflicts which predate the communist regime.

Members of the neo-Protestant churches had been most apt to encounter problems with the state authorities, as they are Biblically oriented, with a strong insistence on religious experience and ethical living. Their churches are the only recognized groups which do not receive state subsidies.

Members of these groups are most likely to receive Bible and religious literature through illegal channels. Members engage in personal forms of evangelism that upset the traditional churches and communists alike.

I might mention at this point that the Orthodox Church is very upset about members being taken away from them into the Baptist Churches, and because of their social power, they can go to the state authorities and say we don't like this Baptist Church having so much freedom here. In some cases, it can be an interfaith problem, even more than it is coming down from the Securitate, per se.

There are religious groups that were illegal in the 1930s and which the present regime continues to restrict. The most important of these groups are the Jehovah Witnesses, the Nazarenes, the Reformed Adventists, and a Pentecostal schism called The Dissenters.

There are, however, two other groups that have unofficial meetings. The Army of the Lord is one, in particular, with over 500,000 members meeting in homes without any official representation of the Department of Cults. I don't know personally of any members of the Army of the Lord in prison today.

Now, if you would compare this to the Soviet Union, there would be thousands in prison. But the Orthodox Church has allowed this unofficial movement of the Army of the Lord to exist in relative freedom.

There is unofficial religious activity in Romania. But to speak of the existence of an underground church does not appear to be justified.

Because of continuing religious and cultural exchanges with the West, the pressures for greater freedom of religious expression will continue to intensify within all religious communities. A failure on the part of the state to respond positively to these concerns could lead to an increase in underground religious activity, such as unregistered congregations and illegal publications and distribution of religious literature.

The Romanian state realizes that the religious bodies continue to have a tremendous power over the lives of its citizens. It has been difficult for the indoctrination attempts of atheistic materialism to alter immediately the deeply ingrained faith of the people. Religious believers in Romania are sustained by the belief in the ultimate indestructibility of their community of faith.

Today, many Romanians are seeking domicile in the West. Because of their increasing need for the West's economic support, the Romanian Government has allowed substantial emigration from its country in exchange for certain trade benefits.

As a result of this emigration opportunity, the general motivation of the Romanian people to obtain a betterment of their situation in a country beside their own has intensified, precipitating the deterioration of their temporary residence in Romania.

However, this continuing relationship of Romania with the West seems to indicate a desire on the part of many Romanians to maintain cultural exchange and seek a meaningful social order.

I might add at this point that I have asked the same questions of countless numbers of Romanians, the people imprisoned, the people released from prison, the people who have problems with the government. I have asked them about MFN. If you ask them about taking away MFN, they say if that makes our situation better, then please do whatever you can. They don't really understand it in great detail. But if you explain to them what the ramifications might mean, then they say oh, no, please don't do that, don't do anything that would hurt us.

Senator **Trible**. Explain to me what the ramifications would be.

Mr. **Crossley**. Of the loss of MFN?

Senator **Trible**. Yes.

Mr. **Crossley**. For example, the hope of the right to emigrate. I don't think that we can appreciate, being in a Western state, where we have freedom of movement, what that hope means. My heart's desire is that that hope is not frustrated.

MFN has, in my opinion, through the Jackson-Vanik amendment provided a minimum right of last resort for the Romanian people. They can, through maybe difficult channels, emigrate. But when you look at the numbers, I don't think it is exactly as difficult as we might believe.

They can obtain the right for a passport and they can emigrate. I would hate to see that be jeopardized.

I think also that the Romanian people, when they understand that they might not have that right, their answer concerning the suspension or removal of MFN would be somewhat different.

Thank you.

[The magazine referred to may be found in the appendix.]

Senator **Pressler**. I thank you both very much.

I have a number of questions here which I shall direct to you.

First of all, just for the record, so that I can understand this better, is there a difference in some Christian groups 'views as to what the most effective remedy is regarding MFN? Would that be a fair statement?

Mr. **Crossley**. Yes, that would indeed be a fair statement.

Senator **Pressler**. What would be your position on the MFN, if I may ask?

Mr. **Crossley**. My position is that MFN should remain as it is. I believe that we should seek, if we have specific human rights cases that we want to negotiate, that we should continue to negotiate them through the various channels that we have, or even seek to create other, perhaps more creative ways of dealing with specific human rights cases. But do not deprive those people of their minimum right, which is what I believe the very essence of the Immigration Act was all about.

Senator **Pressler**. Thank you.

Reverend Collins, your position is what on the MFN?

Reverend COLLINS. Our position is support of the Trible-Armstrong bill, and the Smith-Hall-Wolf bill, which would suspend MFN for a period of 6 months.

I might say that Father Calciu, Father Gheorghe Calciu, who was permitted to emigrate to the United States, has come out in support of complete denial, an immediate denial of MFN, completely.

What we are calling for is simply a warning shot to the Rumanian Government, which would be the 6-month suspension.

Senator PRESSLER. I am not in an argument with either side here. I am just trying to understand your respective positions.

Mr. Crossley, if I understand your position, it is that you are fearful that emigration rights will be hurt if MFN is removed.

Is that a fair statement of your position?

Mr. CROSSLEY. Yes.

I am indeed. Also, again, when you are talking about the very basis of economics of the Rumanian life, no one can say that the removal of MFN won't hurt that. Yes, indeed, it is bad. Yes, indeed, it is deplorable, the economic situation of Rumania. But no one can tell me that removal of MFN might not even make it worse.

Senator PRESSLER. OK.

I would like each witness here to identify the group that he is speaking for, how large it is, and so forth. That would be very useful to the committee, if each of you could do that.

Also, have your respective church groups adopted this as a resolution, or are these your personal opinions?

Senator TRIBLE. Tell us about CREED, why don't you.

Mr. CROSSLEY. I'm sorry.

Senator TRIBLE. Why don't you tell us about CREED so that your answer is on the record.

Senator PRESSLER. That is what I just asked.

Senator TRIBLE. I know. I don't think he understood.

Mr. CROSSLEY. The Christian Rescue Effort for the Emancipation of Dissidents was started by Dr. Ernest Gordon, who was chaplain of Princeton University for 27 years. He was a prisoner of war himself on the River Kwai, and his coming out of the prison camp experience has given him a deep desire to help people in prison camps and in captive nations.

I have been involved mostly with CREED through taking Dr. Gordon through Rumania, showing him the situations in Rumania and helping him base his ideas on what he feels are the best approaches to policy.

Senator PRESSLER. Chris, I am very glad to see you.

Another Congressman has just entered the room.

Reverend Collins, we will hear from you in just a minute. I have been calling any Congressman or Senator to the table, as they arrive. I know how busy their schedules are.

Gentlemen, just stay right where you are, the two of you.

If it is agreeable, we will hear now from Chris Smith. I welcome him. He is a Representative from the Fourth District of New Jersey and is a third term Congressman.

Mr. Smith is a member of the Helsinki Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe. We welcome him.

I think we missed serving in the House together by 1 or 2 years, but we are very glad to have you here.

We have had a report from Congressman Hall. I believe you were on the same trip. I said then that I believe it is good that people go over there and see things first hand. That is something I need to do.

Any observations you may have we will welcome. We will put your statement in the record, and we welcome you here.

STATEMENT OF HON. CHRISTOPHER H. SMITH, A U.S. REPRSENTATIVE FROM NEW JERSEY

Congressman SMITH. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I have very brief opening remarks and then will answer any questions you might have.

I appreciate the opportunity to be here.

Certainly a review of the MFN is of vital importance. Regrettably, over on the House side, we have not had sufficient review of the MFN for Romania issue, except in the Subcommittee on Human Rights, of which I am a member. But the Ways and Means Committee has not, held any hearings. However, we are pressing for those hearings at the earliest possible date.

Mr. Chairman, Romania clearly has established a very unique situation for herself. While it is part of the Soviet Bloc and is a Warsaw Pact country, it has demonstrated its willingness in the past and its ability to digress from many of the hard-line international policies of the Soviet Union.

Although serious complications remain with respect to Romania's emigration procedures, Americans were encouraged by the release in July 1985, of Father Gheorghe Calciu, a Romanian Orthodox priest, who had been imprisoned for over 20 years.

Furthermore, Romania has been the only Warsaw Pact member state to maintain normal diplomatic relations with Israel, allowing more Jewish emigration than the U.S.S.R., despite the great contrast in the numbers of those seeking to leave the country.

On the other hand, Mr. Chairman, having recognized the limited concessions made by the Romanian Government, we must insist upon Romania's achievement record on current human rights practices.

I believe that Romania's MFN status must rest on her progress in addressing the principles established in the Helsinki Accords, the standard by which Romania herself has agreed to concur. Otherwise, the granting of the MFN privilege is meaningless.

From an economic standpoint, Mr. Chairman, the record is clear that MFN status has aided Mr. Ceausescu's ability to strengthen his communist ideals in Romania through the financial and technological advantages offered by the West.

In fact, as former Deputy Director of Romania's Department of Foreign Intelligence, Mr. Pacepa has said—who sought, and obtained, in 1978, political asylum in this country—Ceausescu serves as a conduit for the transmission of embargoed Western technology to Moscow.

Annual trade between our two nations, as you know, Mr. Chairman, is over $1 billion and the relationship is of the magnitude that they export $4 for every $1 that we import in products.

In June, Mr. Chairman, I traveled with Mr. Hall and Mr. Wolf on a fact-finding mission that was sponsored by Christian Response International. We spent a number of days there, meeting with high government officials and people out in Eratia and elsewhere in the country to try to assess the human rights situation.

We came away very disturbed by what we saw. We saw the 14 or so recognized cults or denominations being largely circumscribed by the government, being told how far they can go.

As a matter of fact, in a meeting with the Rabbi of Bucharest, Rabbi Rosen, he told us that for the 25,000 odd Jews who were in Bucharest and in Romania, there were only three rabbis, all of them were very elderly, and that there was no provision whatsoever being made for the training of rabbis. In other words, when they pass away, there will be no further training for rabbis and there will be no rabbis for the flock.

That is what we see happening in the Catholic community and in the Orthodox community, where the number of seminarians being permitted into the schools is largely restricted so that there are too few people available to teach and to pass on the faith.

As I think you know, Mr. Chairman, the country reports for 1985 give Romania a very poor record in the area of human rights. As they point out, freedom of religion is circumscribed and to a large degree restricted. Freedom to assemble, freedom to petition government—all of those are nonexistent. Freedom of the press does not exist.

So, these commonly-held rights that we have come to know as basic human rights, unfortunately just do not exist in Romania.

As you probably know, Mr. Chairman, Mr. Hall, Mr. Wolf and I introduced H.R. 3599, which currently more than 70 co-sponsors, to suspend MFN for 6 months. The thought behind the proposal to suspend MFN rather than terminate it, is that total termination could perhaps have an adverse effect upon the Christians and the other people of faith in Romania. A suspension, however, would be a clear signal to the authorities in Bucharest that we mean business but are willing to negotiate. A suspension is not politics as usual, a cursory review of MFN and then approval for another year. It's a temporary termination until the situation improves. With a suspension of MFN, the Romaninas will know that we are taking a more serious look at their human rights and we want to see some demonstrable progress on their part.

I will answer any questions that you might have.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Smith appears in the appendix.]

Senator **Pressler**. Thank you very much.

I have just been handed a note that indicates that Romania still has 18 rabbis left in the entire country. That is a very small number. And as you know, there is not any training provided for additional ones, and that is a very significant figure.

Let me ask you this.

From a policy point of view, as I understand it, the most favored nation provision has resulted in or is given credit for a very liberal emigration policy regarding those desiring to leave Romania.

If we were to remove the most favored nation clause provision, do you think that there would be a tightening of Romanian emigration policy?

Congressman SMITH. I think it is very possible, which is why Senator Trible and I and others have come up with what we think is the more creative approach of suspension, rather than removal. Certainly removal does not preclude some subsequent time, at some future year, the MFN status being reinstated.

I think if I read it accurately, Romanians need MFN certainly more than we do. Their economy is in a shambles. They are in great need of hard currency, and it would behoove them to hang on to it. I think they will substantially improve their rights record if we demonstrate our ability to react.

I would point out to the committee that back in 1983, when an education tax was proposed in Bucharest, which would have resulted in those who wished to emigrate to pay back to the Government the full amount of their tuition, having attended the public schools, this would have meant that very few people would have been able to comply.

Senator PRESSLER. Would they require that?

Congressman SMITH. Well, they proposed this. The Reagan administration came out very strongly and said that MFN might not be renewed. A couple of months later, that education tax was lifted.

So, I think that we do have leverage, and I think we need to use it prudently. Certainly a suspension effort for MFN is one way of creatively addressing the issue.

Senator PRESSLER. As I understand it, 21,284 Romanian citizens were issued emigration visas by the United States, West Germany, and Israeli Embassies in Bucharest in 1984, the highest total since MFN was recorded in Romania, and three times higher than the figures for 1975 or 1976.

I see that Congressman Wolf has arrived. I am going to yield to Senator Trible for some questions.

We welcome you, Representative Wolf. Representative Wolf is serving his third term from the 10th District of Virginia. He serves on the House Appropriations Committee, and we have heard from Congressmen Hall and Smith regarding a trip that I believe you were involved with also.

What is the will of the committee here?

Shall we hear the Congressman's opening statement and then have our questions?

We will hear your opening statement. We will also place your statement in the record and then we will have some questions for you.

STATEMENT OF HON. FRANK R. WOLF, A U.S. REPRESENTATIVE FROM VIRGINIA

Congressman WOLF. Thank you.

I will be brief.

The first page I will submit for the record. I think Chris probably covered it.

Second, you obviously, know about Father Calciu. We met with him. You know about his 21 years of suffering for his religious beliefs. We talked to a number of other people when we were in Romania who told us that they were just punished, and suffered, and put into prison, and different things like that.

Father Calciu's position certainly is one that has been well publicized.

Senator PRESSLER. Would you pull the microphone a little closer, please?

Congressman WOLF. Father Calciu's suffering is well known. But we have also been told that in a cold winter last year, the Romanian Government turned off the heat in hospitals to save money, and the infants in incubators died. We are also told that they don't actually document a baby's birth until they have been alive from 2 to 4 weeks in the wintertime, thereby showing an abnormal birthrate because so many die at a young age.

We visited a number of churches that had been bulldozed. I am sure Chris talked about that. We warned about an individual who had been put into a body press and squeezed until unconscious. When he came to, he was interrogated further and put into a rubber suit, which was then filled with water. He was then beaten with a stick. The rubber suit filled with water kept the marks from appearing on his body.

The security police are all over. I have heard figures of how 1 in 15 Romanians is actually a security police. They are KGB; but the secret police is actually much more brutal than is the KGB.

I would urge, Senator, that you take a look at the article that was in the Washingtonian magazine in December. Has that been submitted for the record, the article by Pacepa? That, I think, will just really sum it up better than anyone. Pacepa was head of the military intelligence for the Romanian Government. He is in hiding in the United States, writing a book that is a summation of a lot of the different chapters. But when you see the abuse, the pain, the suffering, and the agony that they have put the Romanian people through, it is unbelievable.

Why we give them most favored nation status is just unbelievable.

So, what we are asking, and I know it is not under the direct jurisdiction of this committee, but with the reputation that both you and Senator Trible have on international affairs, if you could aggressively make some recommendations that we suspend the Most Favored Nation status for at least 6 months unless the Romanian Government treats their people better it would help. There is religious repression and persecution of all faiths—quite frankly, this is across the board of the different religious beliefs—the Pentecostals, the Evangelicals, the Baptists, the Catholic Church.

I would like to summarize by saying that we appreciate your having these hearings. I think, Senator, frankly, you used to be a Congressman. You understand how people listen, I think, more to Senators. We don't know why that is over on our side, but it happens to be the case.

Senator PRESSLER. Do you mean that's really true?

Congressman WOLF. Well, the fact is the Senate always has more to say. But I think people do listen more to you.

I know that Senator Trible has really gotten out in front of this issue. I know, Senator, your record on human rights. You have spoken out and become a bold advocate for suspending this most-favored-nation treatment. If you could meet with these people, it would be pitiful.

I want again to thank both of you for having these hearings, and I want to thank Senator Trible for his leadership on this issue in the Senate.

Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Congressman Wolf appears in the appendix.]

Senator PRESSLER. Let me thank you very much, and let me say to you, as I have said to the others about your trip, and then I will yield to my colleague, that I think going there and seeing it firsthand is very important. However, what I find somewhat confusing is the fact that apparently their churches are full each Sunday. Billy Graham has been able to speak there, and yet they carry out these apparent atrocities.

How do you explain the difference? Is it true that people go to church freely? Can they study and worship freely? Can they go outside a church that is approved for them, or are they persecuted? Or are they persecuted just for going to church?

Congressman WOLF. I think most of them, in many respects, can go to church. The churches, the Evangelical churches and some in the Catholic Church are being persecuted. There was one Catholic priest, what was his name for the record—Father Palfi—they beat him to a pulp and he died in a prison, because he happened to get up, and I want to be sure that I am accurate on the record. It is my understanding that he said Christmas should be a holiday. Is that accurate?

Reverend COLLINS. Yes.

Congressman WOLF. Christmas in Romania is not a holiday. He got up on the pulpit and said that Christmas should be a holiday. For that he was beaten.

We talked in church to those who were publicly reluctant to say anything, but privately, when they got to us, they explained it. Father Calciu was in the Orthodox Church. He has been persecuted. Those in the Evangelical Church have been persecuted. Those in the Baptist Church, in Oradea, near the Hungarian border, have been tremendously persecuted.

They allow you to go and attend, but when you try to implement and put into practice what you believe, that is when you have problems.

Lastly, they will not allow the transportation of Bibles around the country.

Congressman SMITH. If the gentleman would yield, I think they also recognize that religious belief is so strong that it cannot be crushed out. So they try to control it.

When we were in Oradea and elsewhere in the country, there were people who came up and said just by talking to you I will be interrogated tonight. People were putting little notes of paper in our pockets saying please help us; you don't realize that it is not what it appears to be; you are being shown something that is only partly true.

Yes, we can sing carols, they said, we can pray, but as soon as we go across a very tightly controlled parameter, once we take that step across that line, the full weight of the totalitarian state comes levelling in against us, and that is the problem.

A guy like Father Calciu speaks up. He was permitted to worship for a few years, when he was out of prison the first time, and then was placed back into prison because he preached against the evils of communism and atheism. In terms of his speech, he spoke against the government, or so they maintained and was again imprisoned.

So, what they do is they use selective terror. I think we should not be sucked into a false sense of belief that somehow things are better off than they are.

Billy Graham also spoke in the Soviet Union, and certainly religious freedom is not one of the hallmarks of the Soviet regime. Sure, they have churches in the Soviet Union. I was in Moscow and I was in Leningrad, and I went to several churches. They were attended by a very small number of people, most of whom were very elderly. One of the churches in Leningrad was turned into a museum on atheism. It is still considered a church, the Kazen Cathedral.

I think we have to realize what we are looking at often times is deceiving.

Again, our hope with this bill is to send them a very clear, nonambiguous message that we mean business. We will continue trading with the Romanians, gladly, but get your act together in the area of human rights. Quit repressing your own people.

That is the message we want to go out loud and clear. And our numbers are growing.

We have said, and Frank Wolf, I think, will bear testimony to this, several of the members in Congress on the House side, when they have been apprised of the situation, they have reacted with a gee whiz attitude, we didn't know it was so bad. After all, the Romanians were at the Olympics. Aren't they the good guys?

Now that is beginning to change. A more realistic appraisal of what they are doing is being manifested. We are going to continue the pressure.

Senator **Pressler**. Thank you.

Senator Trible.

Senator **Trible**. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I agree with the observation of my colleague a few moments ago, that perhaps the only good thing that has been said about Romania today is that their emigration policies have improved.

I do think, though, it is going too far to characterize those policies as "liberal emigration policies." I note that in 1974, 407 Romanians emigrated to the United States; in 1984, 4,545 were allowed to emigrate. So there has been improvement.

But, as we have heard today, there is substantial risk and substantial penalties imposed on Romanians who wish to emigrate.

But it seems to me, and I would like you to comment on this, gentlemen, that we really ought not to be focusing on how we can get people out of Romania, but, rather, on what actions should we take to improve the plight of Romanians in Romania.

We do not want Romanians to come to the United States. We want Romanians to be able to share our experience in Romania, and for witnesses to assert that because the government permits people to leave, that we ought to close our eyes to the fact that it is one of the most repressive regimes in the world, antireligious in its policies, is mind-boggling.

I would like you to respond to that, if you care to, Congressman Wolf or Congressman Smith. And the others can have a chance at it after you all take off.

I have so many questions for Mr. Crossley. But they will await the departure of the two Congressmen, if the chairman agrees.

Congressman **Wolf**. Did someone testify, Senator, that it was okay because people were allowed to leave?

Senator **Trible**. That's how I understood Mr. Crossley's testimony.

Senator **Pressler**. I don't think that is quite correct. However, we will let Mr. Crossley speak for himself.

Congressman **Wolf**. Well, we talked to a number of Romanians. A number who were there pressed notes in my hand. I have been involved in getting a few of them out, but a number of them don't want to leave, and a lot of the people there said that we do not want to leave, we want to stay in our own country because that is where the family is. Second, we did not hear one negative comment about the Romanian Government leadership from these church people. They said they honor their government, they will obey their government; they just want freedom.

So I think what you say, Senator, is exactly true. You don't judge it by the fact that they are allowing people to leave. You judge it by the fact that they are allowing the people to stay and have basic freedom. That should be the test there. I think you are exactly right.

Senator **Trible**. I am struck by the fact that Father Calciu, the priest who appears on the cover of this magazine (indicating), from which Mr. Crossley took his testimony, appeared at a gathering that we had on Capitol Hill in December, a rally for religious freedom in Romania, and his resounding message that day was: it is time to act, the status quo is unacceptable, and the only way you can hope to improve the plight of Romanians in general, and Christians in particular, is to suspend most-favored-nation trading status.

Again, he is someone who has lived there and has sought to practice his faith, and is now enjoying the freedom of our country. But his own experience, I think, gives special weight to his own assessment.

Congressman Wolf, I would like you to perhaps respond to this as well, before you take off. If I cut you off, Congressman Smith, please respond to that first observation of mine, as well. The concern that people have is that if we take this action, the madman who rules Romania will come down much harder on the people that we are trying to help. I touched on that earlier.

Many would argue their plight is serious and really cannot get much worse. But there are those who seriously believe that we ought to be satisfied with individual successes and that if we trifle with our current relationship, it might make life more difficult for the Romanian people generally.

Can you speak to that, because that certainly is one point of view we have heard expressed here today.

Congressman SMITH. First of all, I have known Mr. Crossley and I have known Dr. Ernest Gordon for some time now, and have the highest respect for their integrity and their great work on these issues. John has been doing it for long before I was involved in this, and I have been on the Helsinki Commission for 4 years and a member of the House for six. I have nothing but the highest respect for them.

Good people can disagree as to what course we should adopt. I would note that Helsinki Watch for the first time, it is my understanding, has come out against renewal of MFN, and I am sure within their own ranks there was a considerable debate about that whole issue.

CREED obviously is for continuation, as they have testified. CRI is for termination, or at least suspension.

We find ourselves, I think, between a rock and a hard place. We want to maximize whatever leverage we have, and certainly economic leverage with Romania is considerable, to continue the emigration but also to seek fundamental changes in the human rights situation. The human rights reports—and I have had considerable conversations with our people over at State—say that it is reprehensible. It is really worse than some of us are describing it for the average man or woman. One of the reasons why emigration is high and many people are seeking to leave is because conditions are so bad.

I would point out that for those who do apply, they face job loss and other types of discrimination just for the very fact that they have applied to emigrate. It is based, I guess, on the model of the Soviet Union with Soviet Jews, when they apply to emigrate to Israel. Nine times out of ten, if not ten times out of ten, they find themselves with a job loss and bearing the brunt of other kinds of discrimination. Some do get to leave Romania, but being forced out of your own country, after years of repression, is a hollow victory.

So we are seeking to make the situation better. Again, this is why I think the suspension bill, which Mr. Trible, Congressman Wolf, Mr. Hall and I have offered, provides a constructive approach. We are engaging the Romanian authorities. We are saying look, we have serious problems here and it's not business as usual. We want to see some real movement.

I think, as a signatory to the Helsinki accords, it is not a matter of internal affairs, which is something we heard from people like Ion Companaciu and Stefan Andreou when we were over there. It's not an internal affairs matter. Human rights transcend national boundaries. They signed the Helsinki accords freely and they have to live up to those accords.

I think, again, we ought to use whatever measures we can, even noticing that there are honest differences of opinion as to the best way to proceed.

Congressman WOLF. I think we have crafted the six month suspension very, very carefully. The people that we talked to in Romania, to a person, said it's hard here, we don't see any prospects of it getting any better, so suspend MFN. I can respect somebody who might take the other side. But everyone that we spoke to said that.

We have also spoken to family members who are here, who have family back there. Some have reluctantly said I've now come around because the president in that country is so set on what he is doing, so please suspend it.

Now, we are not saying to suspend it permanently. There are bills which would suspend it permanently. This is 6 months. With a 6-month suspension, Senator, if there were improvement, then it would reactivate again.

I don't think this is a harsh, know-nothing suspension where we don't care what happens. I think it is a delicately-crafted balanced bill, which will hopefully be enough to encourage those in Romania to say well, we can get it back in 6 months if we do this.

We are not asking them to break away and be in the Western bloc. I understand their border and everything else. But I think this is a very modest approach.

If you look at it, we have more than 80 cosponsors, as many Democrats as Republicans, with very liberal members of the House and very conservative members. It is a very moderate approach. I think most have said let's try it and see what happens.

Senator TRIBLE. I thank my Chairman for his indulgence. I would only note that the cosponsorship of your bill grows from one testimony to the next.

Congressman WOLF. We send out a "Dear Colleague" letter about every day. [Laughter.]

Senator TRIBLE. There is a substantial showing of support for your measure. There are 13 sponsors of the measure here in the Senate, which comes out to about the same number, if you multiply four or five times one.

I appreciate your leadership.

Mr. Chairman, let me simply say personally that I know Congressman Smith and, of course, Frank Wolf, of Virginia, well. We have served together. We have worked together. They have shown great leadership on a host of issues. They have shown great sensitivity to the human dilemma in the world. They have tried to help provide a response to hunger problems and basic freedoms in this world that are indivisible and that do transcend, as Congressman Smith, said, all borders. When human liberty is diminished in Romania or any other quarter of the world, we have to recognize that our own liberty is somewhat lost.

Congressman WOLF. Thank you.

Senator, if I could just say one thing, and Paul sort of triggered this.

I have spent, as have Chris and Tony, a lot of time on this issue. I do not believe I have five Romanian voters in my district. I am criticized as being a pothole politician. I take care of the bridges, the subways, and work hard on these local issues.

Well, this is an issue that I really feel a burden for. I really, just having gone there and having seen, feel for it. When we were in the churches, when the Communist officials were up on the stage, watching the people and seeing their reactions, I am just committed to seeing that this thing is resolved.

I kind of feel every time there is another opportunity and there is something else that I ought to be doing, I say I ought to be doing this because if I don't, maybe that is one more day of suffering, or one more child that can be saved in an incubator.

I think the fact that you are doing this, why you may end up saving some lives by the very fact of having this hearing. If you could just get behind it and try to get this thing adopted in the Senate, I think we can have an opportunity to really save a lot of people.

I want to thank both of you. It is not a great political issue for many. You know, I don't know how many Romanians there are in South Dakota. But, I'll tell you, you are really going to make a tremendous difference in a lot of homes in Detroit, in North Jersey, and in places like that, and most particularly in the country of Romania, because they are hurting so badly, like no other place probably in the whole world.

Thank you.

Senator PRESSLER. I thank our two colleagues very, very much. Some of our other Senate colleagues may have additional questions for you. If so, they will be submitted to you for the record.

Thank you for coming.

Senator TRIBLE. Thank you both.

Senator PRESSLER. At this point, I am nearly out of questions except to ask both Mr. Crossley and Mr. Collins if they have any response to any of the questions that were raised, or if they have further comments.

Reverend COLLINS. You had asked a question about Christian Response International, as to the nature of the organization.

We are a Christian organization, as the name indicates, made up of Protestants, Catholics, and Orthodox Christians, with offices now in 10 nations, in 10 capital cities around the world. While we are working in the Embassies here in Washington and organizing U.S. congressional trips abroad, our other offices in Bonn, Paris, and Vienna, and our international office in Zurich and Bern, and our offices in other capital cities around the world are also organizing legislators and parliamentarians to also travel with us to intervene on behalf of persecuted Christians and the suffering churches.

I would simply state that I believe that the policy that those who would suggest continuation of MFN to Romania, this policy simply offers a maintenance of the status quo. The past seven years of religious repression in Romania do not deserve to be rewarded with continued economic assistance by the people of the United States.

I very strongly urge you to support us in this new development. We are not asking for denial of MFN. We are not asking for the end of all trade with Romania. We are simply asking for a 6-month suspension. We are asking for a warning shot to be fired over the heads of the Romanian leaders, that they must understand that they can no longer imprison our brothers and sisters in Jesus Christ, that they can no longer buldoze our churches in Romania, that they can no longer torture these people and murder our brothers and sisters in Christ and not be held accountable for that.

Senator PRESSLER. Mr. Crossley, is there any question that was directed to you that you would like to answer?

Mr. CROSSLEY. Well, yes. I would like to add this.

In the past, I was one of outspoken critics of the extension of MFN to Romania. I was one of Father Calciu's personal friends, one of the only people in the West who knew him. I was there at the time of his arrest in March 1979. I knew the circumstances behind his arrest, and I worked very diligently to see the case resolved.

However, I would say that my general feeling is that the situation in Romania is other than what people would like to present. They don't include the fact that there is tremendous freedom of worship there. That is not said. People do allude to the fact that the churches are full. They are indeed full. Things are, in fact, getting better, when you think that under the regime of Gheorghiu-Dej, the army of the Lord was continually hunted down and prisons were filled with members of the army of the Lord. They are not today. There are no members of the army of the Lord imprisoned for their religious beliefs. And there are 500,000 people functioning in homes. I can take you to homes in Romania where a secret policeman lives next door, where a party secretary lives two doors down, where the Christians sing all night long with their windows open. This exists in Romania.

I am not making apologies for the excesses, or apologies for the cases of over-zealous policemen. But I am saying that there is a reality that exists in Romania that is not being acknowledged, and that is a reality of tremendous religious fervor.

There are crosses on houses, crucifixes in roadsides. There is a general feeling. On Easter, you can walk throughout the countryside in Romania and women will give you bouquets of flowers and things. There is religious fervor in Romania. You cannot deny it.

This is intensified by relationships with the West. This type of fervor is increased by associations between states. I think this is extremely important.

I don't know if the suspension of MFN will harm that. I don't know if the removal of MFN will harm that. I believe that it could. And I can't take that chance, personally, to do that to those people, and to do that to people of faith.

Senator **Pressler**. I shall yield to Senator Trible. This is my last round of questions, and I do want to concur in what Congressman Smith said, that we are very lucky to have two people such as yourselves here, who are interested in this and so well informed. Perhaps your conclusions differ, but I commend you both.

Senator **Trible**. You have been most gracious. But I would simply observe that no one questions that there is religious fervor in Romania. Indeed, one finds the most intense religious feelings when religious activities are oppressed. That is indeed the reality in Romania.

I have often wondered about my own faith and whether I would have the courage to practice my faith in a nation like Romania. I hope to God that I would. But it is so easy for Americans to profess their faith and practice their faith, and so difficult in other lands.

That Romania might be marginally better than some of her neighbors, the Soviet Union, for example, really is not central to our proceedings here today because no one is advancing most-favored-nation trading status for the Soviet Union. When you compare a situation with the worst, inevitably it is going to be better.

I obviously came to this hearing with the view that the United States, which prides itself on representing a moral posture as best as imperfect people can, ought not to be doing business with a scoundrel who, in all of his policies, denies basic human freedom, or at least limits basic human freedom in a fundamental fashion.

We ought not to be carrying on business as usual with that kind of regime.

I must say that I heard nothing today that has dissuaded me from that position. Indeed, I thought the administration failed to make its case very persuasively this morning. I think it is clear from our discussions this morning that the so-called independence of Romania is, at best, illusory.

Moreover, I think it is clear from the hearings this morning that the strategic value of this relationship with Romania is very small, at best, that Romania is, at best, a marginal player on the world scene, and the fact that they may, from time to time, adopt an independent stance, has no real influence on world events and in no real, demonstrable fashion, improves our strategic interest.

Finally, in that situation, moral considerations ought to play heavily, and by any definition Romania is a morally corrupt regime. It seems to me that we ought to acknowledge that reality and deal with it as best we can.

No one can look into a crystal ball and foretell what human events will occur from our actions here. But I would suggest, quite simply, Mr. Chairman, that the status quo in Romania ought to be unacceptable to anyone who loves human freedom, and that if the status quo is unacceptable, then, by God, we should do something about it.

There are a number of ways that we can take action. Hopefully, that action can be productive. But only time will tell.

But whether we take action or not, at least we have accomplished this. No longer will Romania be routinely granted most-favored-nation status. Absent a positive demonstrative by this administration of substantial progress, this relationship simply will not continue. There are too many of us who feel strongly about this in both the House and Senate.

So you and I have had some difficulty, Mr. Chairman, in shaping these proceedings. But I think, after everything is said and done, you have put together a good program. We have heard a diversity of opinion. We have had a spirited exchange of viewpoints, and I think the committee will benefit from that. I thank you for your contribution.

Senator **Pressler**. I thank you very much for your contribution and your participation. It has been very excellent.

In closing, I just have one more question for the two witnesses who are here. There is still some confusion in my mind.

Let's say I was a citizen of Romania and I practiced my faith, I went to church on Sunday. There seems to be a contradiction in your testimony. On the one hand, we are told that there is freedom of religion, and on the other hand, we have heard a lot of stories about people who have run afoul of the state through religious practice.

What would I have to do to distinguish myself to get arrested, or to suffer? Are these people pursuing some other activity that offends? Does the average churchgoer get into trouble? What is the situation? Could you each give me your analysis of that?

Reverend COLLINS. In my opinion, the dividing line in persecution in Romania is evangelism.

Senator PRESSLER. Evangelism is the dividing line?

Reverend COLLINS. Yes.

If you are willing to be a Christian and to keep it to yourself and to make it a personal faith and not share that openly with others, then most likely you can exist in Romania and not have a problem. But once you begin to share your faith with other Romanian citizens, once you begin distributing Bibles or circulating Christian children's books, which are treated like pornography in Romania, and once you start to influence other people toward Christianity, then there is an extremely severe repression.

This can get you thrown out of the university, it can get you thrown off your job, it can even cause problems with socialized housing and socialized medical treatment, which is the case in Romania. It can also send a person to prison, such as the case of Dorel Catarama, 14.5 years in prison for distributing Bibles.

This is the dividing line, Evangelism.

Mr. CROSSLEY. First of all, I would say that you would have to look at particular cases. You would have to get down to that. It is varied and it is complex.

For example, if a person from the Orthodox church is evangelizing, he is probably not going to have any trouble. The regime is going to the hierarchy and looking to them for the opinions of what is right within the realm of their religious faith. In many cases, the ranking leaders of the hierarchy hold sway over even the officials of the Department of Cults, as far as interpretation of what is the problem.

Senator PRESSLER. Hold sway over what?

Mr. CROSSLEY. Over officials of the Department of Cults.

Senator PRESSLER. The Department of Cults?

Mr. CROSSLEY. The Department of Cults—the department of religion.

Senator TRIBLE. But it's the Department of Cults. That is the government agency, Mr. Chairman, that oversees religious activities.

Mr. CROSSLEY. By translation, you would say it is the department of denominations. It does not have the same negative aspect that we would say the word has here. If you were to talk to a Baptist on the street, he would say, "I am a member of the Baptist cult." He would not say that here in this country. He would say, "I am a member of the Baptist faith." They use that term somewhat differently.

However, the Department of Cults will call to the hierarchy of the church. They would call to the Metropolitan. They would say in this particular situation, what do you think is the reality of the problem?

Let me give you an example.

I had a meeting with the Metropolitan of Civiu and I asked him why is there discrimination against Baptists in a city called Mediaz, not far from Civiu. He said well, I will tell you. He said that if they would stop trying to covert our Orthodox believers, there wouldn't be any problem at all.

Now, it's conceivable that this is an interfaith problem that finds its way into the hands of the Securitate very easily because there are links between the two. But the origin of the problem might not necessarily be one emanating from the regime initially.

I will give you another case in point, the Hungarian problem. There is a great feeling in the Orthodoxy of a remembrance of the Hapsburgs and what they did to the poor Orthodox of Romania and how they live. That predates the regime. The Orthodox will say listen, we should treat the Hungarians like they treated us, and this type of thing. If there is a divine milieu, so to speak, in Romania, it is the Orthodox.

Senator **Pressler**. Do you mean the Orthodox Jewish people?

Mr. **Crossley**. No, no. The Greek Orthodox Church, the Romanian Orthodox Church, Eastern Orthodoxy. This Orthodox faith is the faith of Romania.

Even the regime, many members of the regime, party members, et cetera, will have their children baptised as Orthodox believers. This is something that is done.

I know Mr. Tribble pointed out that I was saying there was religious fervor. But there is also religious tolerance. There is tolerance of that religious fervor. Certainly people run amuk of the regime. People are persecuted. There are human rights cases, and those we are all working together to resolve.

But one thing that is not pointed out in Romania is the religious tolerance that exists. I feel that, to be perfectly fair and to deal with them honestly and rationally, you can say yes, this is excellent in this case, this is really what we would like to see. That isn't, but this is what we would like to see.

But if you don't see both, then you can just be considered to be opinionated and perhaps hypocritical.

Reverend **Collins**. In one case involving an Orthodox leader of the Army of the Lord, Tryon Dors, by age 70 he had already spent 16 years in prison. He is a poet. He is almost a folk hero in Romania.

Mr. Dors, after having spent 16 years in prison, and at the age of 70, and living in somewhat of "freedom, 'had continued to write poetry. He had approached the Romanian Government on several occasions to attempt to have a pook printed legally for children, called, "Hosanna, Hosanna. 'The manuscripts were simply children's praise songs to God.

On four occasions he approached the Romanian Government and each time he was refused. Finally, the manuscripts were smuggled out of Romania to West Germany, where they were printed and combined with beautiful, full-colored pictures of children sitting at the feet of Jesus. Fifty thousand copies of the books were brought back into Romania. Tryon Dors was found writing in an automobile, which contained a paper bag with ten copies of the book. This Romanian Orthodox leader in the Army of the Lord, at the age of 70, in poor health, was sentenced to two years in prison at hard labor.

Fortunately, through intervention of U.S. Senators and Congressmen, he was released within just 2 to 3 months. But I think there is ample evidence that even Orthodox Christians inside Romania, are not being oppressed by the Orthodox hierarchy of the church, but by the government itself, atheists who do not want these books and this literature to be distributed within the country.

Mr. CROSSLEY. If I could just add on this case——

Reverend COLLINS. May I interrupt you? I am going to have to leave. I have a plane leaving at 5:45 p.m.

Senator PRESSLER. We thank you very much, Reverend Collins, for your testimony.

Reverend COLLINS. Thank you very much for permitting me to be here.

I want to say, too, that Dr. Gordon and John Crossley are very close friends of mine. I have the greatest respect for them, for their integrity, and what they are doing. We differ on this point, but we remain very close friends.

Senator PRESSLER. Thank you.

Mr. CROSSLEY. I was involved with the case of Tryon Dors. Tryon Dors, before the incident with literature, had gone to the Patriarchy and asked to start another denomination of the Army of the Lord and asked to have representation within the Department of Cults of this splinter Orthodox sect, of which he is a part. The Orthodoxy said absolutely no. They do not want two Orthodox churches in Romania.

This was from the Patriarchy.

They singled out Tryon Dors as being the one who was motivated to start another Orthodox denomination and try to get it officially recognized.

Again, the problem existed from within the church. It is not as clear-cut as we in the West like to see things. You have to understand the religious life of Romania to appreciate that.

Senator PRESSLER. Thank you all very much.

With that, I will conclude this hearing.

[Whereupon, at 5:12 p.m., the hearing was adjourned, subject to call of the Chair.]

APPENDIX

PREPARED STATEMENT OF EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

WE ARE PLEASED TO BE HERE TODAY. WE ARE LOOKING FORWARD TO EXAMINING WITH THE COMMITTEE IN A VERY FRANK AND OPEN WAY OUR POLICY TOWARD EASTERN EUROPE IN GENERAL AND, IN PARTICULAR, OUR UNUSUAL AND OFTEN VERY DIFFICULT RELATIONSHIP WITH ROMANIA.

I'LL TAKE JUST A MOMENT TO MAKE A FEW GENERAL REMARKS. MR. PALMER, WHO IS DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EUROPEAN AND CANADIAN AFFAIRS, WILL GO INTO MORE DETAIL ON OUR POLICY TOWARD EASTERN EUROPE, AS WELL AS THE SITUATION IN ROMANIA AND THE ADMINISTRATION'S VIEWS ON HOW WE CAN DEAL MOST EFFECTIVELY WITH THE ROMANIAN GOVERNMENT.

MR. PALMER AND I ACCOMPANIED SECRETARY SHULTZ ON HIS VISIT TO BUCHAREST LAST DECEMBER. IN HIS MEETINGS THERE, THE SECRETARY RAISED SPECIFIC HUMAN RIGHTS CONCERNS OF THE ADMINISTRATION AND OF THE CONGRESS. I WANT TO STRESS THAT THE CONGRESS' CONTINUING, ACTIVE CONCERN WITH PROMOTING FREEDOM OF EMIGRATION, RELIGIOUS FREEDOM, AND OTHER HUMAN RIGHTS IN ROMANIA HAS BEEN OF PRACTICAL ASSISTANCE TO US IN MAKING CLEAR TO THE ROMANIAN GOVERNMENT THE SERIOUSNESS OF OUR DESIRE TO SEE IMPROVEMENTS IN THESE AREAS.

IN OVER TEN YEARS OF FOLLOWING U.S.-ROMANIAN RELATIONS IN THE CONGRESS AND NOW IN THE ADMINISTRATION, I THINK I HAVE ESTABLISHED THAT I AM NO GREAT ADMIRER OF THE ROMANIAN SYSTEM. WE DID NOT COME HERE TODAY TO DEFEND OR TO MAKE EXCUSES FOR THAT SYSTEM. THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN ROMANIA IS A BAD ONE. THERE IS NO DISAGREEMENT ON THAT SCORE.

This situation is justifiably of concern to the Congress, just as it has been to the Administration. The Administration is often just as frustrated as you are in trying to deal with Romania. For us, the key policy questions are these: With the limited means available to the United States, *what* can we reasonably expect to influence for the better in Romania, and *how* can we best bring our influence to bear? Whether we should continue to extend Most Favored Nation trade status to Romania is obviously an important policy consideration.

I'd like to make just one summary comment on U.S. policy toward Romania at this point. The Administration has worked to use the limited influence we have with Romania as effectively as possible. With the Congress' help, we have had some successes. These successes have been limited, we recognize, and our efforts have not lessened the overall burden under which most Romanians live. BUT, and this is an important BUT in my view, our efforts *have* had a positive impact on the lives of the tens of thousands of Romanians who have been allowed to emigrate to Israel, to Germany, and to the United States. Even as we press our other human rights concerns with the Romanian Government, we should not lose sight of the fact that in this area, freedom of emigration, which is the intended objective of Jackson-Vanik, we have been very successful with Romania. This success is especially evident when we compare Romania's performance with that of the Soviet Union and other countries of Eastern Europe.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Now Mr. Palmer would like to make an opening statement as well.

PREPARED STATEMENT OF ROZANNE L. RIDGWAY

MR. CHAIRMAN, I APPRECIATE YOUR INVITATION TO DISCUSS U.S. POLICY TOWARD ROMANIA. THERE ARE TWO BASIC QUESTIONS:

--WHAT ARE WE TRYING TO ACCOMPLISH IN OUR POLICY TOWARD EASTERN EUROPE, AND WHERE DOES ROMANIA FIT INTO IT?

--WITHIN THAT OVERALL CONTEXT, WHAT IS THE BALANCE BETWEEN OUR OBJECTIVES IN DEALING WITH ROMANIA AND THE LIMITED MEANS WE HAVE FOR ADVANCING THEM?

RESPONSIBILITY FOR OUR OWN NATIONAL SECURITY HEADS THE LIST OF OUR INTERESTS IN EASTERN EUROPE, AS EVERYWHERE. THE ARTIFICIAL DIVISION OF EUROPE SINCE WORLD WAR II IS INIMICAL TO OUR SECURITY INTERESTS AS WELL AS OUR IDEALS, BECAUSE IT IMPOSES INSTABILITY ON EASTERN EUROPE AND CREATES POTENTIAL FOR SERIOUS THREATS TO THE STABILITY OF THE EUROPEAN CONTINENT.

FORCES FOR EVOLUTIONARY CHANGE ARE STILL AT WORK IN THE EAST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES. EACH SET OF CIRCUMSTANCES IS DIFFERENT, AND EACH POSES A DIFFERENT CHALLENGE TO SOVIET HEGEMONY. NATIONALISM IS A POTENT FORCE IN EACH COUNTRY. EACH HAS HISTORIC TIES WITH THE WEST.

WE BELIEVE THAT THE BEST WAY TO ADVANCE U.S. INTERESTS IN THE AREA IS TO RECOGNIZE THE DIVERSITY OF EACH COUNTRY'S SITUATION.

THE KINDS OF DIVERSITY IMPORTANT TO US INCLUDE:

--ADOPTION OF DISTINCT AND MORE INDEPENDENT FOREIGN POLICIES;

--GREATER POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC EXCHANGE WITH THE NON-COMMUNIST WORLD;

--GREATER TOLERANCE OF EMIGRATION;

- -- GREATER RESPECT FOR OTHER FUNDAMENTAL HUMAN RIGHTS;
- --A MORE FLEXIBLE CLIMATE FOR POLITICAL EXPRESSION AND ECONOMIC CHANGE, OR
- --EXPERIMENTATION WITH ECONOMIC DECENTRALIZATION.

DEALING WITH ROMANIA POSES TOUGH CHOICES AND EVEN SOME MORAL DILEMMAS. THIS IS BECAUSE ROMANIA COMBINES HARSH DOMESTIC REPRESSION WITH A UNIQUE FOREIGN AND INTERNATIONAL SECURITY POLICY WHICH INCLUDES A WILLINGNESS TO PERMIT VARYING FLOWS OF EMIGRATION TO OTHER COUNTRIES. WHILE WE DEPLORE THE ONE, WE HAVE CHOSEN TO RESPOND POSITIVELY TO THE OTHER.

SINCE THE MID-1960'S, ROMANIA HAS SOUGHT TO DESCRIBE, WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF THE WARSAW PACT AND COMECON, EXTERNAL POLICIES WHICH ARE CONSISTENT WITH ITS OWN VIEW OF ITS NATIONAL INTERSTS: FOR EXAMPLE, ROMANIA CONDEMNED THE INVASION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA, AND CRITICIZED THE INVASIONS OF AFGHANISTAN AND KAMPUCHEA. IT IS THE ONLY WARSAW PACT COUNTRY WHICH RECOGNIZES ISRAEL. IT HAS REFUSED TO ENDORSE ANTI-U.S. NAME-CALLING RESOLUTIONS IN THE UN. IT CAME TO THE OLYMPICS. IT HAS INSISTED UPON RELATIONS OF ITS OWN WITH CHINA, WEST GERMANY, ISRAEL, AND THE UNITED STATES. ITS WARSAW PACT MILITARY PARTICIPATION HAS BEEN, AND REMAINS, MORE LIMITED THAN THAT OF ANY OTHER PACT COUNTRY. ROMANIAN TROOPS DO NOT PARTICIPATE IN WARSAW PACT MANEUVERS OUTSIDE THE COUNTRY. THE MARCH 1985 VISIT TO ROMANIA BY GENERAL VESSEY, THEN CHAIRMAN OF THE JOINT CHIEFS, WAS A UNIQUE CONTACT BETWEEN MILITARY LEADERSHIPS OF THE U.S. AND A WARSAW PACT COUNTRY.

DESPITE ROMANIA'S ADHERENCE TO THE SOVIET MODEL IN ECONOMIC PLANNING, IT DIFFERS IN HOW IT CONDUCTS ITS TRADE. SINCE THE LATE 1950'S, IT HAS RESISTED SOVIET EFFORTS TO INTEGRATE THE EAST EUROPEAN AND SOVIET ECONOMIES. IT IS THE ONLY WARSAW PACT COUNTRY TO CONDUCT MORE THAN 50 PERCENT OF ITS TRADE WITH THE NON-COMMUNIST WORLD. SEEKING GREATER TRADE WITH THE UNITED STATES, ROMANIA ACCEPTED THE PROVISIONS OF THE 1974 TRADE ACT KNOWN AS JACKSON-VANIK, ENTITLED "FREEDOM OF EMIGRATION IN EAST-WEST TRADE," WHICH PRINCIPALLY MAKES NONMARKET ECONOMY COUNTRIES INELIGIBLE FOR NONDISCRIMINATORY TARIFF TREATMENT (MFN) EFFECTIVE UPON THE DETERMINATION "THAT SUCH COUNTRY DENIES ITS CITIZENS THE RIGHT OR OPPORTUNITY TO EMIGRATE." TOTAL TRADE BETWEEN THE U.S. AND ROMANIA AMOUNTED TO $1.1 BILLION IN 1985. ROMANIAN TRADE WITH WESTERN EUROPE AND OTHER OECD COUNTRIES NOT INCLUDING THE U.S. AMOUNTED TO $10.6 BILLION IN 1985. IN THE LAST FEW YEARS, A LARGE U.S. DEFICIT HAS DEVELOPED WITH ROMANIA AS ELSEWHERE, AND WE HAVE URGED THE ROMANIANS TO INCREASE SIGNIFICANTLY THEIR IMPORTS OF U.S. PRODUCTS.

ROMANIA'S FOREIGN POLICY, UNIQUE IN EASTERN EUROPE, IS OF COURSE CIRCUMSCRIBED BY SOVIET INFLUENCE. IT IS DISTINCT ENOUGH, HOWEVER, TO HAVE STOOD IN THE WAY OF ROMANIA'S FULL INTEGRATION INTO THE SOVIET ALLIANCE SYSTEM. IT HAS MEANT THAT THERE IS A ROMANIAN POLICY AND A ROMANIAN POINT OF VIEW ON MANY OF THE ISSUES ON THE INTERNATIONAL AGENDA. ROMANIA HAS BEEN WILLING TO SHARE THAT WITH WITH US AND WITH OTHERS. DURING HIS

DECEMBER 15 VISIT TO BUCHAREST, SECRETARY SHULTZ CONTINUED THE CONSULTATIONS WE HAVE HAD OVER THE YEARS ABOUT ISSUES SUCH AS TERRORISM, ARMS CONTROL, THE UN, AND THE MIDDLE EAST.

IN CONTRAST, ROMANIAS'S TOUGH INTERNAL REGIME HAS AROUSED DEEP CONCERN, AND WITH GOOD REASON. THE SITUATION IS DEPLORABLE.

THE DEPARTMENT'S 1985 COUNTRY REPORT ON HUMAN RIGHTS IN ROMANIA OUTLINES CONDITIONS WHICH OUTRAGE AMERICAN VALUES. THERE IS INTERFERENCE WITH INDIVIDUAL FREEDOMS, INCLUDING RELIGION, AND RIGOROUS SUPPRESSION OF DISSENT. REFUSAL TO CONTEMPLATE ECONOMIC REFORM AND EXCESSIVELY SEVERE FINANCIAL AUSTERITY HAVE DRIVEN LIVING STANDARDS TO THEIR LOWEST LEVEL SINCE THE MID-1950'S. BUCHAREST IS THE DARKEST AND COLDEST CAPITAL CITY IN EUROPE.

IT IS TRUE THAT THE 95 PERCENT OF ROMANIAN BELIEVERS WHO BELONG TO DENOMINATIONS ACCEPTED BY THE GOVERNMENT -- INCLUDING ROMANIAN ORTHODOX, CATHOLIC, BAPTIST, AND JEWISH -- ARE ABLE TO WORSHIP RELATIVELY FREELY IN COMPARISON WITH THE SITUATION IN SOME OTHER COMMUNIST COUNTRIES. THERE IS SERIOUS PERSECUTION, HOWEVER, OF SMALLER DENOMINATIONS OF CHRISTIAN BELIEVERS WHOSE RAPID GROWTH REFLECTS A SUBSTANTIAL RELIGIOUS REVIVAL. THIS PERSECUTION IS DEEPLY OFFENSIVE. IN ROUGHLY A DOZEN INSTANCES IN RECENT YEARS, THE AUTHORITIES HAVE BULLDOZED OR EXPROPRIATED PLACES OF WORSHIP OF FUNDAMENTALIST PROTESTANT CONGREGATIONS WHICH REJECT OFFICIAL GUIDELINES OR ARE NOT ACCEPTED BY THE GOVERNMENT. THE REGIME HAS IMPEDED THE IMPORTATION AND

DOMESTIC PRINTING OF BIBLES AND OTHER RELIGIOUS MATERIALS, DELAYED OR OBSTRUCTED EFFORTS TO RECONSTRUCT OR EXPAND CHURCH BUILDINGS OF ALL FAITHS, AND CONDUCTED PRESS CAMPAIGNS AGAINST RELIGIOUS DENOMINATIONS WHICH ARE NOT OFFICIALLY RECOGNIZED. INDIVIDUALS FOUND CARRYING BIBLES HAVE BEEN JAILED ON FABRICATED CHARGES AND USUALLY FOR ABSURDLY LONG SENTENCES. PRISON CONDITIONS ARE INHUMANE. RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL DISSENTERS ARE SUBJECT TO BEATINGS.

WHAT HAS THE UNITED STATES BEEN ABLE TO DO ABOUT THIS SITUATION?

FIRST, WE HAVE USED OUR MFN LEVERAGE TO SECURE A DISTINCT IMPROVEMENT IN ROMANIAN EMIGRATION PERFORMANCE. THE 1974 JACKSON-VANIK AMENDMENT LINKS EXTENSION OF MFN WITH EMIGRATION PERFORMANCE, AND THE LEVERAGE AFFORDED BY ANNUAL REVIEW HAS BEEN EFFECTIVE IN PRODUCING A RATE OF EMIGRATION FROM ROMANIA COMPARABLE TO EMIGRATION FROM THE OTHER WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES COMBINED, EXCLUDING THE GDR. THE CHANGE BROUGHT ABOUT BY MFN HAS BEEN NOTABLE. THE AVERAGE EMIGRATION RATE FROM ROMANIA TO THE U.S., ISRAEL, AND THE FRG NEARLY TRIPLED IN THE DECADE AFTER MFN, INCLUDING A SEVENFOLD INCREASE IN EMIGRATION TO THE U.S. OVER 150,000 ROMANIANS -- ROUGHLY ONE IN 160 OF THE COUNTRY'S CURRENT POPULATION -- HAVE DEPARTED THE COUNTRY LEGALLY IN THE ELEVEN YEARS OF MFN. WE HAVE ALSO HAD SOME IMPACT ON THE CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH EMIGRANTS LEAVE ROMANIA: DUE TO OUR OBJECTIONS AND THOSE OF THE FRG, ISRAEL, AND OTHERS, A 1982 ROMANIAN DECREE REQUIRING THAT EMIGRANTS REPAY HIGHER

EDUCATION COSTS IN HARD CURRENCY HAS NOT BEEN IMPLEMENTED. ALTHOUGH WE HAVE SOME DISTANCE TO GO, LAST YEAR WE SECURED THE ROMANIAN GOVERNMENT'S AGREEMENT TO NEW PROCEDURES WHICH ALLEVIATE SOME HARDSHIPS PREVIOUSLY ENCOUNTERED BY INDIVIDUALS APPROVED FOR EMIGRATION, SUCH AS LOSS OF EMPLOYMENT, HOUSING, AND ACCESS TO SOCIAL SERVICES. WE HAVE WORKED STEADILY, AND WITH SOME SUCCESS, FOR RESOLUTION OF MARRIAGE AND DIVIDED FAMILY CASES.

SECOND, ANNUAL MFN REVIEW HAS HELPED US TO HIGHLIGHT INDIVIDUAL HUMAN RIGHTS CASES: FATHER GHEORGHE CALCIU, ROMANIA'S LEADING DISSIDENT, AND DORIN TUDORAN, A DISSIDENT AUTHOR, EMIGRATED TO THE U.S. LAST SUMMER. WE HAVE IMPROVED ACCESS TO ROMANIA BY U.S. RELIGIOUS FIGURES OF ALL DENOMINATIONS, AND OUR EMBASSY HAS WORKED HARD TO INCREASE DIRECT CONTACTS WITH RELIGIOUS FIGURES IN THE COUNTRY, OFFICIALLY RECOGNIZED OR NOT. IN PERHAPS THE MOST STRIKING OF THESE CONTACTS, THE REV. BILLY GRAHAM WAS ABLE TO ADDRESS OVER 110,000 PEOPLE DURING HIS SEPTEMBER 1985 CRUSADE IN ROMANIA. LESS VISIBLY, WE HAVE FOUGHT FOR INDIVIDUAL VISITS BY U.S. RELIGIOUS ACTIVISTS, WHICH HAVE BEEN AN INVALUABLE SOURCE OF INFORMATION ABOUT RELIGION IN ROMANIA.

WE HAVE MADE RELIGIOUS RIGHTS CONCERNS A PRIMARY FOCUS OF OUR DEMARCHES TO THE ROMANIANS. DURING HIS DECEMBER 15 VISIT TO BUCHAREST, SECRETARY SHULTZ REVIEWED OUR CONCERNS IN DETAIL WITH THE ROMANIAN LEADERSHIP. HE MADE CLEAR THE POLITICAL REALITY THAT TANGIBLE PROGRESS ON HUMAN RIGHTS, AS WELL AS

CONTINUED EMIGRATION, IS NECESSARY FOR CONTINUED MFN. HE PARTICULARLY STRESSED OUR RELIGIOUS RIGHTS CONCERNS INCLUDING TREATMENT OF UNRECOGNIZED FUNDAMENTALIST PROTESTANT GROUPS, AS WELL AS OUR INTEREST IN FACILITATING LEGAL IMPORTATION OF PROTESTANT BIBLES TO ROMANIA OR THEIR BEING PRINTED WITHIN THE COUNTRY. THE SECRETARY RAISED A NUMBER OF SPECIFIC CASES, INCLUDING THOSE OF DOREL CATARAMA AND CONSTANTIN SFATCU, TWO JAILED RELIGIOUS ACTIVISTS. HE EXPRESSED CONCERN ABOUT THE LENGTHY WAITING PERIOD REQUIRED FOR BINATIONAL MARRIAGE AND EMIGRATION APPROVALS, AND PRESENTED LISTS OF ALL OUTSTANDING CASES.

A PROGRAM OF FOLLOW-ON MEETINGS WAS AGREED TO, AND THERE HAVE BEEN A NUMBER OF CONTACTS BETWEEN AMBASSADOR KIRK AND SENIOR ROMANIAN OFFICIALS IN BUCHAREST, AND BETWEEN ED DERWINSKI AND THE ROMANIAN AMBASSADOR IN WASHINGTON. WE HAVE REVIEWED OUR CONCERNS AND RAISED NEW ONES, SUCH AS THE CASE OF RADU ROSU, A TALENTED MATHEMATICIAN DENIED PERMISSION TO ACCEPT A FELLOWSHIP AT PRINCETON.

BY WAY OF AN INTERIM REPORT, I CAN SAY THAT RESULTS, TO DATE, HAVE BEEN MODEST. SIXTEEN BINATIONAL MARRIAGE REQUESTS, A THIRD OF THOSE ON THE LIST THE SECRETARY SUBMITTED, HAVE BEEN APPROVED. THREE DISSIDENT BAPTIST PASTORS WHO HAVE BEEN DENIED THE RIGHT TO PREACH IN ROMANIA, AND WHO HAVE BEEN THE SUBJECT OF REPEATED EXPRESSIONS OF U.S. CONCERN IN RECENT MONTHS, WILL BE PERMITTED TO LEAVE FOR THE U.S. WITHIN A MONTH, ALONG WITH AN INDIVIDUAL PREVIOUSLY JAILED FOR ILLEGAL TRADE UNION

ACTIVITIES.

THESE ARE LIMITED, INCREMENTAL STEPS, AND THE EFFORT WE EXPEND IS DISPROPORTIONATE TO THE RESULTS WE ACHIEVE. THE PROCESS IS TIRING AND FRUSTRATING, AND WE AND YOU IN THE CONGRESS SHARE DISAPPOINTMENT AND OUTRAGE. IT IS UNDERSTANDABLE THAT SOME HAVE CONCLUDED -- PERHAPS FROM FATIGUE AND FRUSTRATION, PERHAPS BECAUSE THEY SIMPLY SEE THINGS DIFFERENTLY -- THAT THE ONLY WAY TO IMPROVE ROMANIAN PERFORMANCE IS TO SUSPEND OR DENY MFN.

AS YOU KNOW, THE PRESIDENT HAS UNTIL JUNE 3 TO SUBMIT A DETERMINATION REGARDING ROMANIAN MFN FOR 1986-87. WHAT THAT DETERMINATION WILL BE WILL DEPEND ON OUR ABILITY TO ACHIEVE PROGRESS ON THE ISSUES OF CONCERN TO US. I BELIEVE, HOWEVER, THAT OUR MUTUAL CONSIDERATION OF THIS ISSUE SHOULD BE GUIDED BY TWO QUESTIONS:

FIRST, HAVE THE RESULTS WE HAVE ACHIEVED THROUGH ANNUAL MFN REVIEW BEEN WORTH THE EFFORT TO DATE? I BELIEVE THEY HAVE. PARTIALLY THROUGH OUR EFFORTS, 150,000 ROMANIANS HAVE BEGUN NEW LIVES IN THE WEST. DISSIDENTS WHO OTHERWISE WOULD HAVE SUFFERED IMPRISONMENT, OR WORSE, HAVE EITHER BEEN PERMITTED TO LEAVE OR ARE TREATED WITH MORE RESTRAINT THAN THE ROMANIAN REGIME WOULD OTHERWISE HAVE SHOWN. WE HAVE SOMEWHAT GREATER ACCESS TO THE OPPRESSED AND AFFLICTED, AND THUS GREATER KNOWLEDGE OF THEIR PROBLEMS, THAN WE DO IN OTHER EAST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES. WE ALSO HAVE DIRECT ACCESS TO THE ROMANIAN LEADERSHIP THAT ENABLES US TO MAKE OUR CASE ABOUT THE

DISTRIBUTION OF BIBLES, INDIVIDUAL HUMAN RIGHTS CASES, AND OTHER MATTERS.

SECOND, WOULD SUSPENSION OR DENIAL OF MFN INCREASE OUR ACCESS? THERE IS REASON TO DOUBT THAT IT WOULD. WE ARE DEALING WITH A TOUGH, UNATTRACTIVE REGIME THAT HAS SHOWN NO HESITANCY IN PUNISHING ITS PEOPLE TO MAKE ITS ARGUMENTS. IT HAS A TRACK RECORD OF REDUCING LIVING STANDARDS TO COVER ITS ECONOMIC SETBACKS. THERE IS THE RISK THAT WITH THE RELATIONSHIP FOUNDED ON MFN SET ASIDE, THE UNITED STATES WOULD BE ABLE NEITHER TO CONTINUE TO ENCOURAGE EMIGRATION NOR SUBSTANTIALLY TO FULFILL ITS ROLE AS A CHAMPION OF HUMAN RIGHTS. A LOT OF PEOPLE COULD BE HURT IN THE PROCESS, INCLUDING THE NEARLY 4,000 PEOPLE IN ROMANIA WHO ARE QUALIFIED, UNDER U.S. LAW, TO JOIN THEIR FAMILIES IN THE U.S. THERE ARE MANY THOUSANDS OF OTHERS WHO COULD SUFFER, AND WHO EXPECT US TO REMAIN ENGAGED.

IN BOTH THE ADMINISTRATION AND THE CONGRESS, WE THEREFORE NEED TO FACE THE UNPALATABLE POSSIBILITY THAT THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN ROMANIA, AS REPUGNANT AS IT IS, COULD GET WORSE. IT IS TRUE THAT WE HAVE SHOWN ONLY A LIMITED CAPACITY TO INFLUENCE EVENTS THERE, BUT EQUALLY TRUE THAT OUR INFLUENCE HAS AMELIORATED MANY INDIVIDUAL CASES. AND, AT BOTTOM, THAT IS WHAT HUMAN RIGHTS ARE ALL ABOUT: INDIVIDUAL HUMAN LIVES.

THESE CONSIDERATIONS WERE CENTRAL TO THE DEPARTMENT'S FORMAL COMMENTS IN OPPOSITION TO S.1817, WHICH PROPOSES SUSPENSION OF ROMANIAN MFN FOR SIX MONTHS. IT SEEMS TO US THAT EITHER

ROMANIA HAS MFN, OR IT DOESN'T. EITHER THE ANNUAL REVIEW PROCESS WILL CONTINUE TO YIELD STEADY, INCREMENTAL PROGRESS WHICH SERVES OUR INTERESTS IN ROMANIA, OR IT WON'T. I URGE THAT THE CONGRESS WAIT UNTIL THE ANNUAL HEARINGS THIS SUMMER BEFORE REACHING ANY CONCLUSIONS. IF WE DETERMINE THAT THE MFN LEVER HAS NOT BEEN WORTH THE EFFORT, HOWEVER, WE SHOULD NOT DELUDE OURSELVES THAT GIVING IT UP WILL SOMEHOW ENHANCE OUR LEVERAGE.

I SAID EARLIER THAT OUR RELATIONS WITH ROMANIA CONFRONT US WITH TOUGH CHOICES. ON THE ONE SIDE, WE HAVE NATIONAL SECURITY INTERESTS AND OUR ABILITY POSITIVELY TO AFFECT THE LIVES OF INDIVIDUALS WHO NEED OUR SUPPORT. ON THE OTHER SIDE, WE HAVE A SENSE THAT OUR ENGAGEMENT BRINGS US INTO ASSOCIATION WITH A REPRESSIVE REGIME THAT NEITHER SHARES NOR RESPONDS TO THE HIGH PRINCIPLES OF HUMAN RIGHTS WHICH ARE SO IMPORTANT TO US. TO DATE WE HAVE MADE OUR CHOICE BASED ON THE RECORD OF THE NUMBERS OF PEOPLE WE HAVE BEEN ABLE TO HELP. WHETHER IN THE FUTURE WE WILL MAKE OUR CHOICE BASED ON THE RECORD OF THE NUMBERS OF PEOPLE WE HAVE NOT BEEN ABLE TO HELP IS THE QUESTION THAT IS ALWAYS BEFORE US. IN EITHER CASE, OUR NATIONAL INTERESTS WILL REMAIN. WHETHER WE HAVE THE MEANS TO PURSUE THEM IS LESS CLEAR. WE WELCOME THIS OPPORTUNITY TO DISCUSS AN ISSUE OF SUCH IMPORTANCE TO THE ROMANIAN AND AMERICAN PEOPLE.

PREPARED STATEMENT OF JOSEPH F. DENNIN

MR CHAIRMAN:

I AM PLEASED TO APPEAR BEFORE THIS COMMITTEE TO DISCUSS U.S. TRADE WITH ROMANIA AND THE ROLE OF MFN IN ITS DEVELOPMENT.

THE UNITED STATES VIEWS TRADE WITH THE EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES AS PART OF OUR OVERALL RELATIONSHIP WITH THEM, AND CONDUCTS TRADE IN THE CONTEXT OF NATIONAL SECURITY, HUMAN RIGHTS, AND OTHER VITAL OBJECTIVES.

IN ITS RELATIONS WITH THE COUNTRIES OF EASTERN EUROPE, THE UNITED STATES TAKES ACCOUNT OF DIVERSITY IN THE REGION, ESPECIALLY OF FOREIGN POLICY INDEPENDENCE OR INTERNAL LIBERALIZATION SHOWN BY INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES. ROMANIA HAS BEEN THE MOST INDEPENDENT OF THE EAST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES IN ITS FOREIGN RELATIONS, INCLUDING ITS TRADE RELATIONS. IT HAS NOT, HOWEVER, LIBERALIZED INTERNALLY.

ROMANIA AND HUNGARY ALONE AMONG THE EAST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES HAVE AGREED TO STEPS WHICH IMPROVE EMIGRATION, AND HAVE RECEIVED MFN TREATMENT AS A RESULT. THERE IS NO QUESTION THAT MFN HAS HAD THE DESIRED RESULT OF INCREASED EMIGRATION.

MORE THAN 17 THOUSAND ROMANIANS WERE ABLE TO EMIGRATE LAST YEAR, MORE THAN THE COMBINED EMIGRATION OF ALL THE OTHER WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES EXCEPT THE GDR. TOTAL EMIGRATION SINCE ROMANIA OBTAINED MFN IN 1975 HAS BEEN 150,000.

GRANTING MFN TO ROMANIA HAS HAD OTHER BENEFITS AS WELL. IT HAS HELPED ROMANIA TO MAINTAIN A GREATER DEGREE OF ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE FROM THE SOVIET UNION. FIFTY-FIVE PERCENT OF ROMANIA'S TRADE IS WITH THE WEST, WHILE FOR THE OTHER EAST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES, ABOUT 65 PERCENT IS WITH THE SOVIET BLOC.

MFN ALSO HAS CONTRIBUTED TO INTEGRATING ROMANIA MORE FULLY INTO THE WORLD TRADING SYSTEM, ENCOURAGING THE OBSERVATION OF THE RULES AND OBLIGATIONS OF THAT SYSTEM.

MFN HAS BEEN THE FOUNDATION OF THE COMMERCIAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND ROMANIA. THE GRANTING OF MFN WAS RECIPROCAL, GIVING U.S. COMPANIES THE ABILITY TO SELL IN ROMANIA. OVER 30 AMERICAN COMPANIES NOW HAVE OFFICES IN BUCHAREST, AND ONE AMERICAN-ROMANIAN JOINT VENTURE OPERATES ON ROMANIAN SOIL. LEADING AMERICAN SALES INCLUDE FOOD PROCESSING EQUIPMENT, AGRICULTURAL EQUIPMENT AND CHEMICALS, AND NON-STRATEGIC COMPUTING EQUIPMENT.

BILATERAL TRADE HAS QUADRUPLED SINCE THE GRANTING OF MFN, FROM $400 MILLION IN 1974 TO $1.2 BILLION LAST YEAR. SINCE 1975, TWO-WAY TRADE HAS AVERAGED $750 MILLION ANNUALLY, AND YIELDED SUBSTANTIAL SURPLUSES FOR THE UNITED STATES THROUGH 1980.

OVER THE LAST FIVE YEARS, OUR TRADE WITH ROMANIA HAS BEEN INCREASINGLY IN DEFICIT. IN 1985 U.S. EXPORTS TO ROMANIA WERE $208 MILLION, IMPORTS WERE $950 MILLION, AND THE TRADE DEFICIT WAS $742 MILLION. THIS IS A SHARP REVERSAL FROM 1980, WHEN OUR EXPORTS TO ROMANIA WERE MORE THAN TWICE AS LARGE AS OUR IMPORTS, AND OUR TRADE SURPLUS WAS $410 MILLION.

THE BASIC REASON IS THAT ROMANIA HAS DRAMATICALLY CUT ITS GLOBAL IMPORTS AND VIGOROUSLY PUSHED EXPORTS IN AN EFFORT TO REDUCE ITS EXTERNAL DEBT. BEGINNING IN 1982, ROMANIA HAS HAD TO MAKE DEBT PAYMENTS OF ROUGHLY $1.6 BILLION PER YEAR. LAST YEAR AND THIS YEAR AGAIN, ROMANIA WILL REPAY OVER $200 MILLION OF FINANCIAL OBLIGATIONS TO THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT AND PRIVATE LENDERS. SINCE 1981 ROMANIA HAS SUCCEEDED IN CUTTING ITS FOREIGN DEBT IN HALF, FROM $12 BILLION TO $6 BILLION.

THE COST TO ROMANIANS HAS BEEN TREMEDOUS, AS LIVING STANDARDS HAVE FALLEN ABYSMALLY, PARTICULARLY IN CONSUMPTION OF FOOD AND ENERGY. ROMANIA'S IMPORT REDUCTION PROGRAM HAS ALSO CUT HEAVILY INTO IMPORTS OF CAPITAL GOODS.

ROMANIA'S IMPORT NEEDS CANNOT BE DEFERRED MUCH LONGER, AND THE PRESENT AUSTERITY PROGRAM WILL HAVE TO BE MODIFIED. WHEN IT IS, WE EXPECT TO SEE A SHARP PICKUP IN EXPORTS TO ROMANIA, AND A MORE BALANCED TRADE PICTURE, ESPECIALLY AS THE DECLINING DOLLAR IMPROVES OUR COMPETITIVENESS. I SHOULD POINT OUT THAT ROMANIA HAS CUT IMPORTS FROM THE U.S. LESS THAN FROM OTHER OECD SUPPLIERS, AND OUR SHARE OF THE ROMANIAN PURCHASES FROM INDUSTRIAL COUNTRIES IS UP TO 18 PERCENT.

U.S. COMPANIES ARE MAKING SOME MAJOR SALES WHICH WILL SHOW UP IN FUTURE TRADE FIGURES, SUCH AS POWER TURBINES FOR ROMANIA'S NUCLEAR ENERGY PROGRAM. THAT POWER GENERATION EQUIPMENT, INCIDENTALLY, WAS SOLD AGAINST STIFF COMPETITION; AND ACCORDING TO COMPANY ESTIMATES, WILL GENERATE 1000 AMERICAN JOBS AND CONTRIBUTE TO KEEPING OPEN A FACILITY EMPLOYING 6000 WORKERS.

THE KEY QUESTION THE COMMITTEE IS CONSIDERING IS WHAT WOULD HAPPEN IF MFN WERE PERMANENTLY OR TEMPORARILY TAKEN AWAY FROM ROMANIA. MY COLLEAGUE FROM THE STATE DEPARTMENT HAS TESTIFIED THAT SUCH ACTION WOULD PROBABLY REVERSE THE MEANINGFUL GAINS WE HAVE BEEN ABLE TO GET IN EMIGRATION AND OTHER POLICY CONCERNS.

WE IN THE COMMERCE DEPARTMENT AGREE WITH THAT JUDGMENT, BUT MY MAIN PURPOSE IN APPEARING BEFORE YOU TODAY IS TO LOOK AT THE ECONOMIC EFFECTS.

THE FIRST EFFECT WOULD BE A REDUCTION IN ROMANIA'S EXPORTS TO THE UNITED STATES. THESE, WE BELIEVE, WOULD FALL BY ABOUT $300 MILLION AS ROMANIA BECAME UNCOMPETITIVE IN A RANGE OF MANUFACTURES AND SEMI-MANUFACTURED GOODS WHOSE TARIFFS WOULD INCREASE SHARPLY.

THE ACTUAL LOSS MIGHT BE SOMEWHAT LESS. MAJOR ROMANIAN OIL AND OTHER RAW MATERIAL EXPORTS WOULD BE ONLY MODERATELY AFFECTED, AS THESE ITEMS ARE EITHER DUTY FREE UNDER BOTH MFN AND NON-MFN RATES, OR CARRY COLUMN TWO DUTY RATES LOW ENOUGH TO ALLOW CONTINUED SALES. IN ADDITION, SOME OF THE LOST EXPORTS COULD BE SOLD IN OTHER WESTERN MARKETS. MUCH OF THE REMAINDER PROBABLY COULD BE SOLD TO THE SOVIET UNION. THIS, OF COURSE, WOULD INCREASE ROMANIA'S DEPENDENCE ON THE USSR.

THE SECOND EFFECT OF REMOVING MFN FROM ROMANIA WOULD BE A SHARP LOSS IN U.S. EXPORTS TO ROMANIA. ROMANIA WOULD IMMEDIATELY DENY MFN TO U.S. COMPANIES, AND WOULD DIVERT ITS PURCHASES TO OTHER WESTERN COUNTRIES. WE BELIEVE THAT WE WOULD LOSE WELL OVER HALF OUR POTENTIAL EXPORTS.

A TEMPORARY SUSPENSION WOULD HAVE THE SAME EFFECT AS A PERMANENT TERMINATION OF ROMANIA'S MFN, NAMELY TO REVERT TRADE RELATIONS TO ROUGHLY THEIR STATE IN THE EARLY 1970'S BEFORE MFN WAS EXTENDED. NO MATTER HOW SHORT OR HOW LONG A TEMPORARY SUSPENSION WOULD LAST, TRADE WOULD NOT BOUNCE BACK QUICKLY AFTER A REINSTATEMENT OF MFN. THUS, THE LEVERAGE WHICH IS OFFERED BY MFN FOR OUR OTHER INTERESTS WOULD BE SIGNIFICANTLY REDUCED.

COMMERCIALLY, THE CONCEPT OF A "TEMPORARY SUSPENSION" OF MFN STATUS IS NOT WELL-FOUNDED. THE EXTENSION OF MFN IMMEDIATELY CREATES A FRAMEWORK FOR NORMAL TRADE RELATIONS, BUT THE BUSINESS WHICH SUBSEQUENTLY TAKES PLACE GROWS ONLY SLOWLY AND PAINSTAKINGLY, OFTEN TAKING A DECADE TO DEVELOP FULLY. IF MFN IS REMOVED SPORADICALLY FOR A SHORT TIME, FIRMS ON BOTH SIDES OF THE TRADE RELATIONSHIP WILL SUFFER LOSSES AND WILL VIEW FUTURE TRADE RELATIONS WITHOUT CONFIDENCE.

THE COST INITIALLY, MOREOVER, WOULD BE MOST HEAVILY BORN BY U.S. IMPORTERS. IN THE FIRST SIX MONTHS OF EITHER A TERMINATION OR TEMPORARY SUSPENSION, U.S. IMPORTERS, BOUND BY PURCHASE ORDERS AT CONTRACTED PRICES, WOULD HAVE TO TAKE DELIVERY OF ORDERED GOODS AND ABSORB THE ADDED DUTIES.

THE UNITED STATES HAS DERIVED IMPORTANT GAINS BY EXTENDING ROMANIA MFN FOR THE PAST ELEVEN YEARS. WE HAVE GAINED CONSIDERABLE INFLUENCE OVER ROMANIAN POLICY, A GOOD EXAMPLE OF WHICH IS THE REVERSAL OF THE 1983 EDUCATION TAX ON EMIGRANTS. WE HAVE SEEN A HIGH LEVEL OF EMIGRATION FROM ROMANIA. WE HAVE BENEFITED FROM ROMANIA'S WILLINGNESS TO CHALLENGE SOVIET INITIATIVES IN EASTERN EUROPE. AND WE HAVE SOLD TWO BILLION DOLLARS WORTH OF U.S. EXPORTS WHICH WE WOULD NOT HAVE OTHERWISE MARKETED, WITH OBVIOUS BENEFIT TO THE UNITED STATES IN JOBS.

OUR DEEPFELT DESIRE IS FOR IMPROVEMENT IN ROMANIA'S HUMAN RIGHTS PERFORMANCE. WE BELIEVE THAT ANNUAL RENEWAL PROCESS HAS PLAYED A POSITIVE ROLE OVER THE YEARS IN GAINING FREER EMIGRATION. SINCE GRANTING MFN, WE HAVE BECOME ROMANIA'S SECOND OR THIRD LARGEST TRADING PARTNER AFTER THE SOVIET UNION, AND SOMETIMES THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY. WE THINK ROMANIA IS WILLING TO TAKE MODEST STEPS TO MAINTAIN MFN. WHETHER THE SAME WOULD BE TRUE ONCE MFN IS SUSPENDED, COMMERCIAL LINKS SEVERED, AND TRADE DIVERTED IS UNCERTAIN. FINDING OUT MAY BE RISKY--FOR OUR TRADE CERTAINLY, BUT ALSO FOR THE INDIVIDUALS AND GROUPS WHOSE WLEFARE WE SEEK.

I APPRECIATE THE OPPORTUNITY TO DISCUSS THESE CONSIDERATIONS WITH YOU TODAY. THE COMMERCE DEPARTMENT LOOKS FORWARD TO ASSISTING YOU IN THESE DELIBERATIONS IN THE MONTHS AHEAD.

PREPARED STATEMENT OF JAMES M. MURPHY, JR.

MR. CHAIRMAN --

THANK YOU FOR INVITING ME TO TESTIFY BEFORE THE COMMITTEE TODAY ON MOST FAVORED NATION (MFN) TREATMENT FOR ROMANIA. THE OFFICE OF THE U.S. TRADE REPRESENTATIVE SUPPORTS A CONTINUATION OF MFN FOR ROMANIA AS THE BEST WAY TO ENCOURAGE ROMANIA'S INTEGRATION INTO THE INTERNATIONAL TRADING SYSTEM. MFN ALSO RESULTS IN EXPANDED TRADE BETWEEN THE U.S. AND ROMANIA WITH ECONOMIC BENEFITS TO BOTH COUNTRIES.

MY TESTIMONY WILL FOCUS ON THE ECONOMIC AND TRADE ASPECTS OF OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH ROMANIA. I RECOGNIZE THAT THIS COMMITTEE HAS BROADER INTERESTS RELATED TO IMPORTANT HUMAN RIGHTS QUESTIONS. THESE ARE CRITICAL ISSUES WHICH REQUIRE CAREFUL EXAMINATION BY THOSE WHO ARE KNOWLEDGEABLE.

IN EVALUATING CONTINUATION OF MFN FOR ROMANIA THERE ARE SEVERAL IMPORTANT ISSUES TO BE CONSIDERED. FIRST, WE ENCOURAGE THE COMMITTEE TO WEIGH THE IMPORTANCE OF MFN IN THE CONTEXT OF OUR BROADER ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH ROMANIA. THE USG HAS SOUGHT TO ENCOURAGE THE DEVELOPMENT OF ROMANIA'S RELATIVELY INDEPENDENT ECONOMIC POLICY. ROMANIA HAS LED RESISTANCE TO SOVIET-INSPIRED

PLANS FOR ECONOMIC INTEGRATION OF THE EASTERN EUROPEAN BLOC. MORE THAN ANY OF ITS NEIGHBORS, ROMANIA HAS RESISTED INTEGRATING ITS FIVE YEAR ECONOMIC PLANS WITH THOSE OF OTHER CEMA MEMBERS. ROMANIA HAS ESTABLISHED GREATER RELIANCE ON TRADE OUTSIDE THE SOVIET BLOCK THAN ANY OF THE OTHER WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES. MORE THAN 50 PERCENT OF ROMANIA'S TRADE IS WITH THE NON-COMMUNIST WORLD, THE ONLY WARSAW PACT COUNTRY FOR WHICH THIS IS TRUE.

SECOND, MFN HAS RESULTED IN AN EXPANSION OF TRADE BETWEEN THE U.S. AND ROMANIA. THIS WAS ONLY POSSIBLE BECAUSE ROMANIA ACCEPTED MFN UNDER THE JACKSON-VANIK EMIGRATION CRITERIA, WHICH MOST OF ITS NEIGHBORS REJECTED.

ROMANIA RECEIVED MOST FAVORED NATION TREATMENT IN 1975. SINCE THAT TIME, TRADE BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND ROMANIA HAS EXPANDED SIGNIFICANTLY. TOTAL BILATERAL TRADE HAS GROWN FROM ABOUT $450 MILLION IN 1975 TO $1.2 BILLION IN 1985.

LEADING U.S. EXPORTS INCLUDE RAW MATERIALS SUCH AS COAL, AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS INCLUDING SOYBEANS AND CORN, AND INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTS SUCH AS STEAM TURBINES, ENGINES, AND GENERATORS. U.S. IMPORTS FROM ROMANIA INCLUDE NATURAL GAS, PETROLEUM PRODUCTS, AND IRON AND STEEL.

IN THE LAST FEW YEARS, A LARGE U.S. DEFICIT HAS DEVELOPED WITH ROMANIA, AS IT HAS WITH OTHER TRADING PARTNERS. SOME OF THIS

DEFICIT REFLECTS THE ROMANIAN GOVERNMENT'S AUSTERITY PLAN DESIGNED TO CUT IMPORTS AND INCREASE EXPORTS IN RESPONSE TO ROMANIA'S EXTERNAL DEBT CRISIS. THE USG CONTINUES TO URGE THE ROMANIANS TO SIGNIFICANTLY INCREASE THEIR IMPORTS OF U.S. PRODUCTS, AS THEIR ECONOMIC SITUATION PERMITS.

TO ENCOURAGE GREATER U.S. EXPORTS TO ROMANIA, ROMANIA HAS BEEN DESIGNATED AS ELIGIBLE FOR U.S. EXPORT FINANCING PROGRAMS. ROMANIA HAS UTILIZED EX-IM BANK LENDING PROGRAMS AND COMMODITY CREDIT CORPORATION (CCC) CREDITS TO PURCHASE U.S. EXPORTS. ROMANIA IS ALSO ELIGIBLE FOR POLITICAL RISK INSURANCE FROM THE OVERSEAS PRIVATE INVESTMENT CORPORATION (OPIC).

THIRD, ROMANIA HAS TAKEN ON IMPORTANT INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATIONS. THESE DEMONSTRATE ITS DESIRE TO BUILD A LONG-TERM ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIP WITH THE U.S. THE UNITED STATES AND ROMANIA CONCLUDED A SATISFACTORY BILATERAL TRADE AGREEMENT DURING THE TOKYO ROUND OF THE MULTILATERAL TRADE NEGOTIATIONS. SINCE THEN, ROMANIA HAS FORMALLY ADHERED TO MOST OF THE NON-TARIFF CODES OF THE GENERAL AGREEMENT ON TRADE AND TARIFFS. SPECIFICALLY, ROMANIA HAS ADHERED TO THE MTN AGREEMENTS ON TARIFFS, STANDARDS, CUSTOMS VALUATION, LICENSING, AIRCRAFT, AND ANTIDUMPING, AS WELL AS THE ARRANGEMENTS ON MEAT AND DAIRY PRODUCTS.

IN ADDITION, THE U.S. AND ROMANIA HAVE CONCLUDED AN INCOME TAX TREATY AND A LONG-TERM AGREEMENT ON ECONOMIC, INDUSTRIAL AND

TECHNICAL COOPERATION.

ALL OF THESE MEASURES SHOW ROMANIA'S GROWING COMMITMENT TO PARTICIPATION IN THE INTERNATIONAL TRADING SYSTEM AND TO TRADE TIES WITH THE UNITED STATES. THESE TIES WOULD BE PUT IN JEOPARDY WERE WE TO WITHDRAW MFN, EVEN FOR A SHORT PERIOD OF TIME.

THE EFFECTS WOULD BE FELT ON BOTH SIDES OF THE ATLANTIC. ON THE U.S. SIDE, U.S. TRADERS COULD BE HURT. MANY OF OUR IMPORTS FROM ROMANIA ARE PART OF LONG TERM CONTRACTUAL ARRANGEMENTS. U.S. TRADERS ARE COMMITTED TO TAKE ROMANIAN GOODS, REGARDLESS OF THE PREVAILING U.S. TARIFF TREATMENT. THESE U.S. TRADERS WOULD HAVE TO PAY THE EXTRA DUTIES THEMSELVES, IF MFN WERE REMOVED.

THE U.S. HAS GRANTED ROMANIA MFN TREATMENT FOR THE PAST TEN YEARS. THE STABILITY OF U.S.-ROMANIAN COMMERCIAL RELATIONS HAVE CONTRIBUTED TO THE ACHIEVEMENT OF USG OBJECTIVES IN NON-TRADE AREAS. OUR ABILITY TO INFLUENCE ROMANIAN POLICY COULD BE SERIOUSLY DIMINISHED IF THE U.S. SUSPENDED MFN, EVEN FOR A TEMPORARY PERIOD.

IN CONCLUSION, I WOULD LIKE TO EMPHASIZE ONCE AGAIN THAT MOST FAVORED NATION TREATMENT IS A KEY ELEMENT IN OUR TRADE RELATIONSHIP WITH ROMANIA. IT IS AN IMPORTANT PART OF OUR EFFORTS TO EXPAND OPPORTUNITIES FOR U.S. EXPORTERS. OUR EXPORTERS' EFFORTS TO SELL U.S. PRODUCTS IN ROMANIA ARE INEVITABLY LINKED TO ACCESS FOR ROMANIAN PRODUCTS IN THE UNITED STATES. AS IN OTHER COUNTRIES, U.S. EXPORTS DEPEND IN NO SMALL PART ON ACCESS FOR FOREIGN PRODUCTS IN THE UNITED STATES. FOR THESE REASONS, THE OFFICE OF THE UNITED STATES TRADE REPRESENTATIVE STRONGLY URGES THAT WE CONTINUE TO GRANT MFN TREATMENT TO ROMANIA.

PREPARED STATEMENT OF RICHARD D. ENGLISH

Mr. Chairman and Committee Members:

Thank you for this opportunity to discuss with you the United States Government's refugee programs. The humanitarian response of the United States to refugee problems around the world is a very important part of our foreign policy. Because the world's eight million refugees have urgent needs for care, maintenance, and protection, as well as resettlement, the implementation of this humanitarian policy requires more in the way of authorizations and appropriations than most areas of foreign policy. At the Department of State more than $300 million has been spent during each of the last five years on the overseas care, protection, and maintenance responsibilities and the admissions program. The Bureau for Refugee Programs is very appreciative of the support that the Congress has provided in the recent past for these very important programs -- and indeed the continued support of the American people that has been expressed through their elected representatives. We welcome the interest of the Congress and the public in the program.

In this fiscal year, the United States will admit more than 60,000 refugees from around the world. Refugee admissions are a program separate from the system of immigrant visas, which is the primary means of legal immigration into the United States. The refugee admission program is based on the definition of the term "refugee" found in section 101(a)(42) of the Immigration and Nationality Act. That definition was adapted from the definition contained in the 1951 United Nations Convention relating to the Status of Refugees, as extended by the 1967 Protocol. Generally, a refugee is a person who is remaining outside the country of his or her nationality because of past persecution or a well founded fear of persecution. The persecution, generally understood to include certain various forms of harsh treatment, must be because of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion. In order to be admitted to the United States, persons who meet this definition of refugee must not have been offered firm resettlement in a third country and must not otherwise be ineligible for admission to the United States. Admissions are decided on a case-by-case basis by officers of the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

In FY 1986, about two thirds of all refugee admissions -- more than 40,000 -- will come from the East Asia region. Fewer than 3,000 each will be admitted from Latin America and African regions. Admissions from the Near East and South Asian regions will be about 6,000, principally consisting of Iranians and Afghans. The regional ceiling for Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union for FY 1986 is 9,500, and this ceiling will be fully utilized. With the exception of the large Indochinese admissions, we have resettled more refugees from Eastern Europe than from all other regions combined -- over 68,000 during the five year period, FY 1981-FY 1986. Refugees fleeing persecution in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe have historically been a substantial part of the U.S. refugee resettlement program.

Within the Eastern European and Soviet ceiling, Romanians have constituted one of the major nationalities during the past five years. (Poles have been the other major nationality.) Romanians have not only come to the United States as refugees, but have also migrated in large numbers to other countries (primarily West Germany and Israel) and to this country as regular immigrants.

Before examining Romanian refugee admissions to the U.S., I would like to present a general view of emigration from Romania -- to all major recipient countries -- over the past decade from calendar year 1975 through calendar year 1985. The total legal migration out of Romania in 1975 was 6,975. During most of the ten years since 1975, legal emigration has increased, reaching its highest point in 1984 with the emigration of 21,327 Romanians. The figure for 1985 was 17,312, a figure still three times the 1976 number. (See Chart "Romania: Total Emigration".) Clearly, the trend is upward. In the eleven year period beginning in calendar year 1975, more than 150,000 Romanians were allowed to emigrate.

As the second chart (see "Romanian Emigration" [pie chart]) shows, almost three quarters, or more than 100,000, went to West Germany. Over 24,000 came to the United States, and over 15,000 went to Israel. When emigration to the United States is considered, it is clear that the Romanian Third Country Processing program (TCP) is a major channel to the United States. In the years 1982 to 1985, almost 10,000 Romanians entered the United States through the Romanian TCP program. This was more than half the flow of Romanians to the United States. In the same period, more than 6,000 Romanians were admitted to the United States from countries of first asylum. About one eighth came as recipients of immigrant visas.

The third chart shows the emigration of Romanians on an annual basis to the three principal recipient countries, West Germany, Israel, and the United States. Only a very small number of Romanians arrive at other destinations. This graph shows that emigration to Israel has been steady but small and that emigration to West Germany has been much larger and has shown an upward trend. Emigration to the United States has generally been larger than that to Israel and has shown a slight upward trend.

The fourth chart shows trends in the admissions of Romanian refugees over the past four fiscal years. The non-TCP Romanians, that is, the Romanians admitted from countries of first asylum, were 847 in Fiscal Year 1982 but more than doubled in Fiscal Year 1983 to 1,910. There was slight reduction to 1,894 for FY 1984 and a larger decline to 1,452 for FY 1985. Since we have not reached the midpoint of the fiscal year, it is difficult to predict the level for FY 1986.

For the Romanian Third Country Processing program, called the Romanian TCP program, the statistics reflect in part the allocations which the Department has been able to provide for the program. For each of the four fiscal years, the initial allocation has been 2,000. In both Fiscal Years 1984 and 1985, additions have been made to this allocation, bringing the respective totals to 2,487 and 3,061 for those fiscal years.

Of the 68,000 refugees from the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe resettled in the United States during the last five years, over 18,000 were Romanians. More Romanians entered the U.S. as refugees during both FY 1984 and FY 1985 than any other Eastern European nationality. It is interesting to compare Romanian refugee admissions into the U.S. during the past five years with Soviet refugee admissions to this country during the same period. Romanian refugee admissions into the U.S. have increased every year since FY 1981, when such admissions were less than 2,500, to FY 1985, when over 4,500 Romanian refugees entered the U.S. During the same period, Soviet refugee admissions decreased every year from over 13,000 in FY 1981 to 640 in FY 1985. The numbers of Romanian refugees admitted, like those of refugees of other nationalities, are limited by the world and regional ceilings established by the President every year after consultation with the Congress.

Romanians enter the United States as refugees either by applying in Romania for the TCP program or by applying after their departure from Romania. Romanians outside their homeland may apply at any of the 28 designated refugee processing posts around the world. Most such Romanian cases are processed at Frankfurt, Rome, Vienna, or Belgrade. To qualify for admission to the U.S. as a refugee, an individual must establish to the satisfaction of an officer of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) that he or she has been persecuted or has a well founded fear of persecution, has not been offered firm resettlement in a third country, and is not otherwise ineligible for admission to the United States.

As I have stated, Romanians also benefit from a special program which we call the Romanian Third Country Processing program or TCP. This term describes a process whereby individuals are preliminarily examined by U.S. officials in Bucharest and, if found qualified for further consideration, are enabled to proceed to Rome and there make formal application to INS officials to enter the United States as refugees. This program is available primarily to a finite group of persons who had registered with our Embassy prior to August 1982.

Mr. Chairman, the Administration deplores violations of human rights in Romania, which sometimes provoke individuals to seek emigration. The Romanian TCP program has provided a means for such emigration.

The Romanian refugee situation is perhaps better understood in its historical context. The TCP program had its genesis in the 1970's, when it was a means of facilitating the entry of a small number of Romanians who were able to obtain exit permission from the Romanian Government but unable to qualify for a U.S. immigrant visa. These people did not qualify either because they did not have the requisite anchor relatives in the United States or because their relatives in the U.S. had not been in this country for a sufficient time to qualify them for immigrant visas.

Romanian emigration increased after 1974, due to encouragement by the United States Government and to the provision of the Jackson-Vanik Amendment that nations with non-market economies that deny their citizens the right or opportunity to emigrate cannot qualify for most-favored-nation status.

The passage of the Refugee Act of 1980 altered the framework of refugee admissions to the United States. It provided for the annual establishment of a world refugee admissions ceiling by the President after consultation with the Congress. This ceiling is divided into regional ceilings which establish annual limitations on the number of refugees admitted from the five regions of the world. During the year, numbers are sometimes reallocated after consultation with the Congress to reflect changed conditions. Together with the new definition of refugee already discussed, the new provisions for annually adopted world and regional ceilings created a new set of groundrules for refugee admissions programs.

In the early 1980's as the number of Romanian registrants increased, so did our backlog. By the summer of 1982, some 10,000 Romanians were registered for the program. Under our regional refugee ceiling for the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, we could not process all the potential refugees who registered for TCP in Bucharest. In response to this situation, we suspended TCP registration on August 27, 1982.

Looking to the future, we as a matter of policy believe that in general Romanian emigration to the United States should find channels other than the Romanian TCP program and that the program should be phased down in an orderly manner. At the same time, we believe that our Government had a responsibility to those eligible persons who had registered with our Embassy for the TCP program and to those eligible individuals who had suffered hardship because they obtained exit documentation in the expectation that they would emigrate through the TCP program.

At the beginning of the current fiscal year, there remained 3,700 TCP registrants. Due in part to the budgetary constraints of Gramm-Rudman-Hollings, however, we are somewhat uncertain what our admissions will be for the current fiscal year. However, our FY 1986 regional ceiling for the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe is set at 9,500, and we anticipate that Romanians will use a substantial portion of these numbers.

We expect over the next two years to process the remaining 3,700 people who are qualified to come here under TCP, but do not currently have exit permission. We anticipate that in the future Romanians will increasingly either enter the United States as immigrants or will apply for the U.S. refugee program in countries of first asylum.

A problem which continued to plague the Romanian TCP program until last year was that large numbers of Romanian citizens obtained permanent emigrant documents from their Government without first checking with the American Embassy to see whether they met our admission criteria. The tragedy of this was twofold. First, such applicants might not ever qualify for admission to the U.S. Secondly, like others who sought to emigrate, they were often subject to severe sanctions, including loss of current employment and educational and social benefits. Thus, they could be left in a state of uncertainty amounting to that of refugees in their own country.

Last June, Counselor Derwinski negotiated an understanding of emigration procedures with the Romanian Government, which it has begun to implement. Essentially, they make two major changes. First, the Romanians will issue emigration passports to the U.S. only after we have informed them that applicants are qualified for processing. Secondly, until that time, the applicants whom the Romanians approve for emigration will receive certificates of eligibility pending our processing, but in the meantime will undergo no major change in social status. We are to monitoring these new procedures carefully.

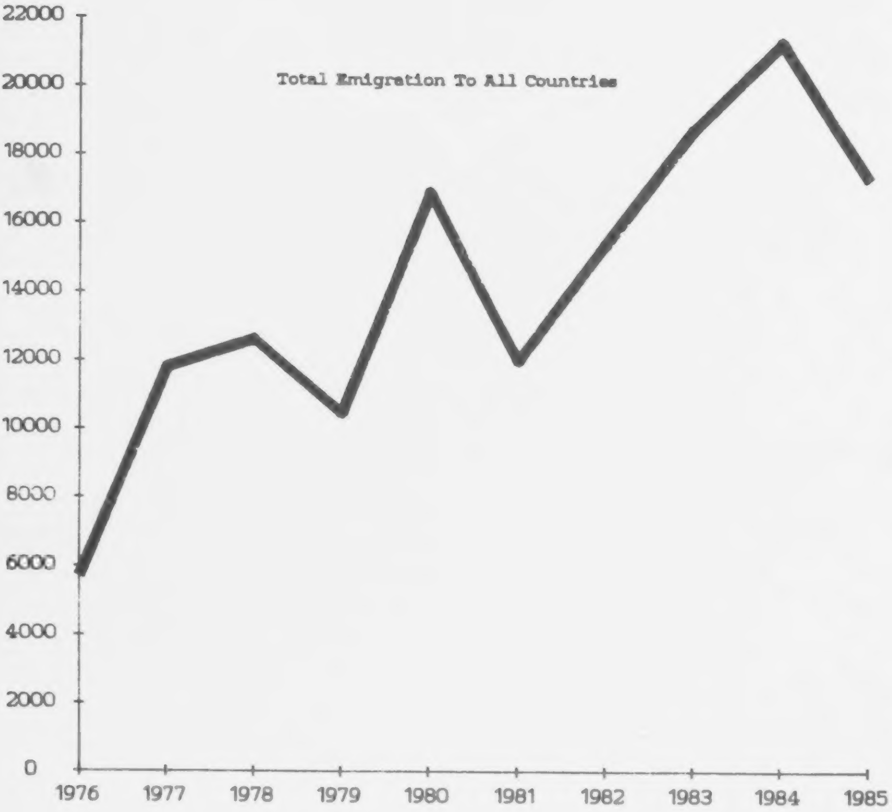
The regular Romanian refugee program and TCP program have been effective in allowing large numbers of Romanians to resettle in the United States. In recent years, Romanian refugees have begun new lives in almost every one of the fifty states. Some are reunited with family members who have been in the U.S. for many years. Some join close relatives whose escape has been more recent. Yet others may have no blood relatives to assist in their resettlement but receive considerable support, both spiritual and material, from religious groups with whom they share a common bond. Romanian emigrants to the U.S. include a higher percentage of skilled people -- doctors, engineers, technicians -- than does Romanian society as a whole.

Members of the smaller denominations such as Nazarenes and Jehovah's Witnesses often suffer discrimination or persecution, sometimes simply because their denominations are not officially "recognized". They have been warmly welcomed and assisted by the American religious communities and have reestablished themselves in an environment of religious freedom. The Department continues to pressure the Romanian Government to show greater respect for the religious freedoms of members of the smaller denominations.

Mr. Chairman, we believe it is worth recognizing that the Romanian refugee program has given thousands of Romanians the opportunity to emigrate to the United States. Thanks to our regular and intense monitoring of Romanian Government policies, this has been the largest and most regular flow of emigration from any communist country except East Germany in recent years. It has reunited many families who otherwise would certainly have remained apart. It also has brought a pool of talented people, many with professional skills, to begin new lives in this country. We will continue to press the Romanian Government to provide its citizens with the opportunity for free emigration.

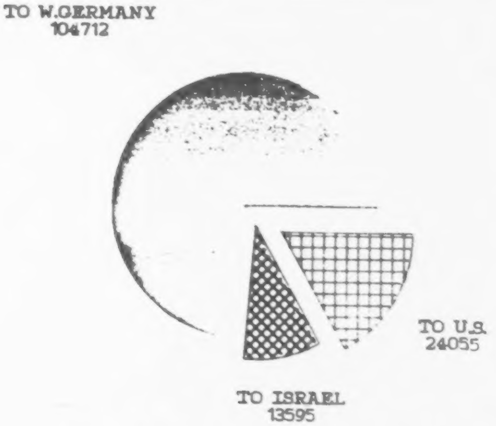
Thank you for this opportunity to testify before the Subcommittee.

ROMANIA: TOTAL EMIGRATION

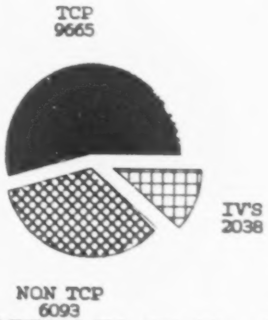


ROMANIAN:LINE:RAPsoper:22 Feb 86

ROMANIAN EMIGRATION

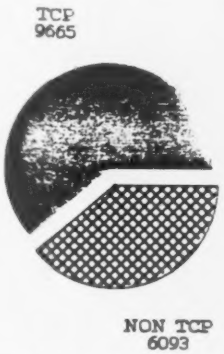


Total Emigration 76-85



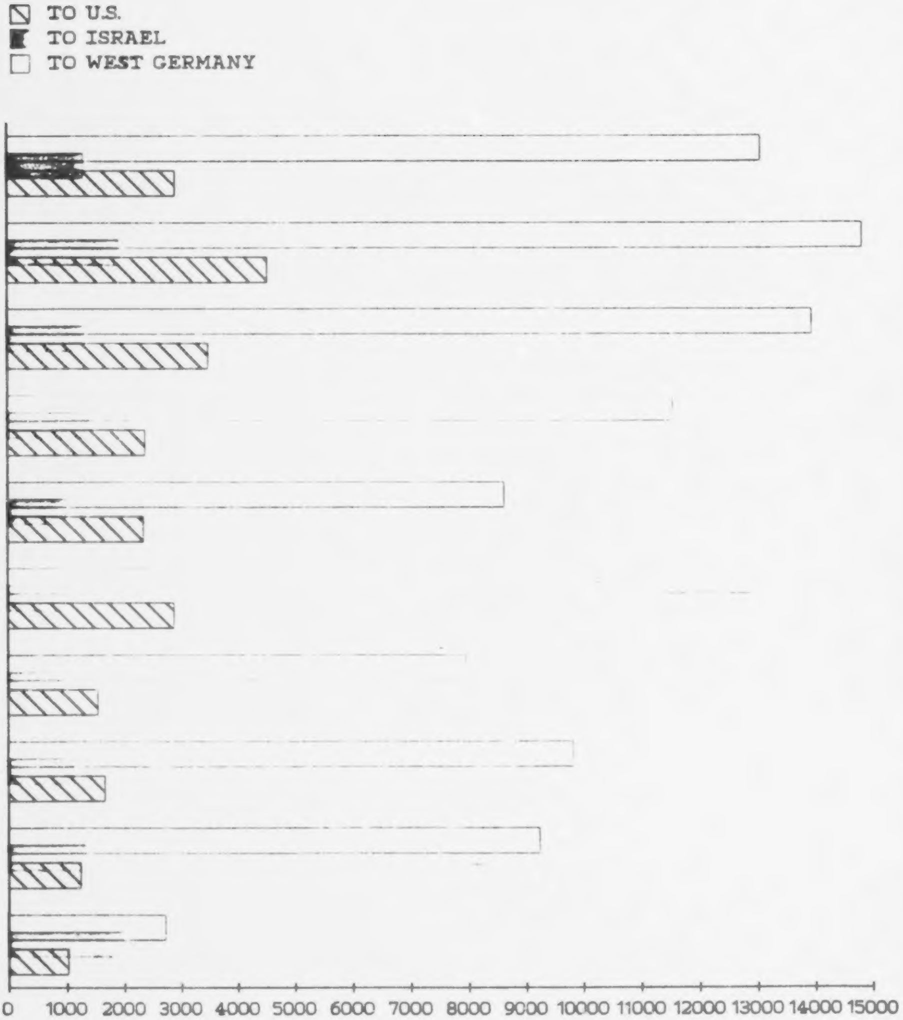
EMIGRATION TO US 82 - 85

ROMANIAN:PIERRAPeoper:23 Feb 86

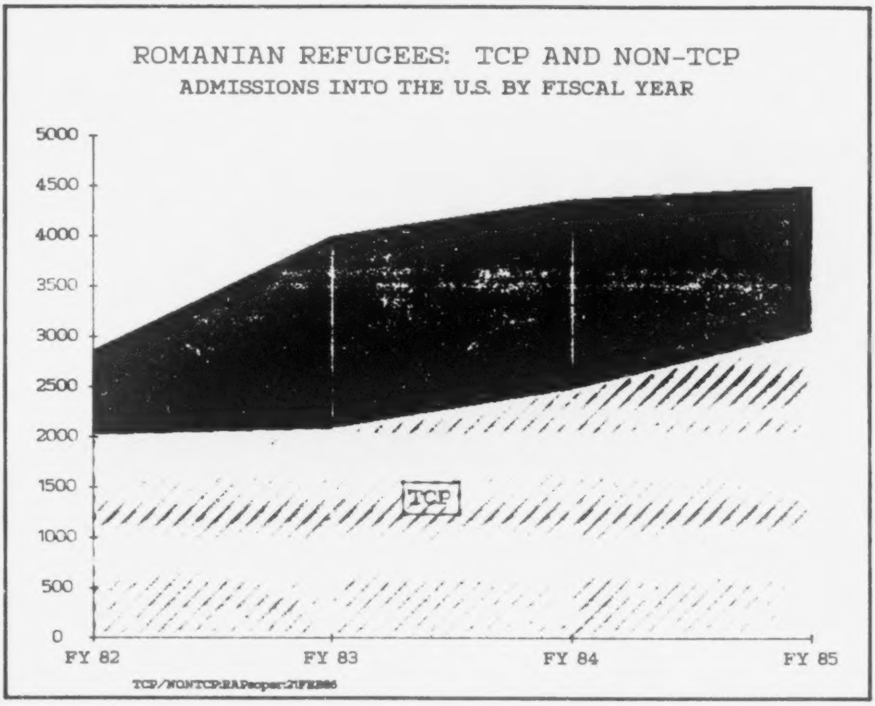


REFUGEES TO U.S. 82-85

ROMANIAN EMIGRATION



ROMANIAN:EMIGRAT:RAPeoper 21 FEB 86


ROMANIAN REFUGEES: TCP AND NON-TCP
ADMISSIONS INTO THE U.S. BY FISCAL YEAR
5000
4500
4000
3500
3000
2500
2000
1500
1000
500
0
FY 82
FY 83
FY 84
FY 85
TCP
TCP/NONTCP:RAPsoper:21FEB86

HELSINKI WATCH

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COMITÉ DES CITOYENS DES E.U. POUR LA SURVEILLANCE DES ACCORDS D'HELSINKI
COMITÉ DE CIUDADANOS DE LOS EE.UU. PRO VIGILANCIA DE LOS ACUERDOS DE HELSINKI
ОБЩЕСТВЕННЫЙ КОМИТЕТ США ПО НАБЛЮДЕНИЮ ЗА ВЫПОЛНЕНИЕМ ХЕЛЬСИНКСКИХ СОГЛАШЕНИЙ

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New York, N.Y. 10036
(212) 840-9460
Washington Office
739 Eighth Street S.E. Washington, D.C. 20003 (202) 546-9336

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Holly J. Burkhalter
Washington Representative

Human Rights in Romania

PREPARED STATEMENT OF JERI LABER

Before the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee

February 26, 1986

My name is Jeri Laber. I am the Executive Director of the U.S. Helsinki Watch Committee. Our organization monitors compliance with the human rights provisions of the 1975 Helsinki Final Act.

Helsinki Watch has issued reports on Romania since 1981 and has testified regularly at Congressional MFN hearings on Romania since 1983. Until May of 1985 our recommendation did not vary: despite gross and continuing human rights abuse in Romania, we urged that MFN be continued as the only means of leverage available to the United States in trying to bring about human rights improvement in Romania.

Last July, having watched the human rights situation in Romania continue its decline into unremitting misery for the majority of Romanian citizens, we changed our recommendation. In written testimony submitted to the Finance Committee of the U.S Senate on July 23, 1985, we called on the U.S. government to end Most Favored Nation status for Romania.

Helsinki Watch is affiliated with the Fund for Free Expression and with Americas Watch
The Lawyers Committee for Human Rights is Counsel for Helsinki Watch
Helsinki Watch is a founding member of the International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights

This year the situation is different, and we have been forced to reconsider our position. Indignation at Romania's human rights violations has been growing in the United States and there are a number of bills on Romania, some calling for an end to MFN, now pending in Congress. The repeal of Romania's Most Favored Nation status no longer seems an unrealizable threat.

Quite frankly, members of Helsinki Watch find themselves in a quandary *vis a vis* MFN and Romania. On the one hand, Romania remains one of the most closed societies and egregious offenders of human rights in Eastern Europe. Three factors unite in Romania to make life unbearable: 1) Communist totalitarian control as repressive as any in Eastern Europe; 2) a "cult of personality" surrounding President Ceausescu who demands not only loyalty from his subjects but adulation and has surrounded himself with the luxuries and privileges of royalty; and 3) the insane imposition of financial hardships on the Romanian people, aimed at reducing Romania's huge international debt at the expense of the very lives of its citizens. Given this picture, one asks, why should we continue to support the Ceausescu regime by granting it Most Favored Nation status?

And yet, if we end MFN once and for all, what good will this bring us or the Romanian people? We will have lost an annual forum for airing Romanian human rights abuses; we will have lost whatever leverage the U.S. State Department can apply in trying to bring about human rights improvements in Romania; we may drive Romania into still further reliance on the Soviet

Union and destroy its small gestures of independence within the Warsaw Pact. In addition, we will leave the beleaguered Romanian people with the feeling that they have been abandoned by the United States, one of their few sources of hope. It appears that it will be next to impossible to restore MFN, once it has been revoked.

These considerations have led the Helsinki Watch Committee to reconsider its position of July 1985. Our Board now suggests a compromise: a suspension of Romania's MFN status for a period of six months, to be followed by a re-evaluation. MFN would be renewed only if Romania were to demonstrate in a six-month period its commitment to internationally recognized human rights. We ask specifically that Romania (1) cease interrogating and harassing Romanian citizens who have contacts with foreigners and repeal legislation aimed at preventing such contact; (2) remove restrictions on religious freedom, including restrictions on religious education and literature; (3) ease emigration rules and cease the extra-legal persecution of prospective emigrants; (4) remove restrictions on Hungarian schools and universities and other measures aimed at suppressing the cultural identity of the Hungarian minority in Romania; (5) eliminate discrimination against elderly people with regard to medical treatment and other public services; and 6) permit independent human rights fact-finding missions, including the Helsinki Watch Committee, to visit Romania, in order to verify any steps taken to improve the human rights situation there.

We also suggest that the six-month suspension be followed by a review during which it is determined whether or not MFN should be renewed or whether the suspension should be extended for another six-month period.

In the past, threats to revoke the MFN status of Romania have resulted only in deception and manipulation on the part of the Romanian government. The MFN hearings have become the forum for such manipulation. Eager to see MFN continue, Romania regularly makes small human rights gestures just before the MFN review period and then, after MFN has been renewed, lapses back into its previous disregard for human rights and for any assurances it may have made to the U.S. government.

Given the severe economic problems facing Romania today, perhaps the temporary suspension of MFN would jolt the government into action while giving it a chance to take real measures to retrieve not only its MFN status with the United States, but its own self-respect and humanity.

A summary of some of the major human rights abuses in Romania follows, dealing with the areas of freedom of expression, freedom of movement, freedom of religion, political prisoners, workers rights, minority rights and the invasion of privacy.

I. Freedom of Expression

Freedom of expression, including freedom of speech and of the press, does not exist in Romania. The Securitate (secret police) maintains such tight control over all forms of expression that it is virtually impossible to carry on any kind of communication that may be deemed hostile to the state.

There are no human rights monitoring groups in Romania. Efforts to form a Helsinki group in 1977 by writer Paul Goma ended in his expulsion from Romania and the arrest and imprisonment of his associates. The government policy has been to exile or imprison all citizens who attempt to gather and disseminate information on human rights violations.

In an effort to prevent the publication of samizdat periodicals, citizens are required to register their typewriters with the authorities, and the use of duplicating machines is greatly restricted. The effectiveness of these restrictions can be measured by the fact that Romania is one of the only East European countries in which samizdat is almost nonexistent. In fact, the only known samizdat publication in Romania is the Hungarian Press of Transylvania (HPT).

> -- the author of a samizdat book, Adevarul (The Truth) which was critical of the Ceausescu regime, was arrested in June 1984. There is no evidence indicating that he was tried or sentenced, but there has been no information as to his condition or his whereabouts since his arrest.

Art is used as an instrument of propaganda. Independent cultural activities are considered to be dangerous to the state, which encourages instead a mass culture designed to promote its interests.

Publication of books has been sharply reduced due to the severe paper shortage in Romania. Because of currency restrictions, few translations of foreign writings -- even from Communist countries -- are available. Books are censored by an office called the Council for Culture and Education. Those that are deemed critical of certain aspects of Romanian life never reach the printing press. The work of some of the best known Romanian writers, artists and musicians can be found only on the black market, imported from abroad.

II. Freedom of Movement

The Romanian government does not recognize the right of its citizens, guaranteed by the Helsinki Final Act, to leave and return to their country freely. The only recognized ground for emigration is family reunification. Nevertheless, many thousands of Romanians have applied to emigrate. Applicants include not only persons seeking family reunification, but also those seeking religious, political, artistic and ethnic freedom. In 1985, 17,312 Romanians emigrated to the U.S., West Germany and Israel. Such requests for emigration may be said to constitute the only large-scale independent activity carried on by Romanian citizens that the authorities have proved unable to halt.

There are many obstacles on the road to emigration. The application process is long, complicated and arbitary. Prospective emigrants are sometimes prevented from applying to emigrate for months or years on procedural grounds constructed by the state. More important, prospective emigrants risk almost certain reprisals: official harassment, public denunciation, demotion, loss of employment, loss of housing, loss of public services and, often, arrest. Delays of two to three years in obtaining a passport -- and sometimes substantially longer -- are not uncommon. The following case is typical:

> -- Gabriel Galateanu, his wife and their child, have asked to emigrate to the U.S. since 1980. After several attempts, they finally received their passports. However, their passports were confiscated in August 1985. They were thus in an extremely precarious situation, without means of survival. Under these circumstances, they began a hunger strike in order to obtain their passports. The authorities have threatened them with prison. No further information is available.

If, as is often the case, a person is fired from his/her job after applying to emigrate, charges of "parasitical" or "anarchic" conduct can be brought under decree 153/1970. Conviction under this decree can result in imprisonment or "corrective labor without deprivation of liberty." This latter penalty means that the person is assigned to a particular place of work, often far from his or her home, with greatly reduced wages. Permission from the local militia is required in order to leave the assigned area.

In addition to the sanctions mentioned above, incidents of bribes and forced payments -- often in hard currency -- continue to be reported. Applicants must also sell all their property at fixed, and substantially lower, government rates, and they are not permitted to take any funds out of the country.

Those who try to leave the country illegally are charged under Article 45 of the Criminal Code -- "fraudulent crossing of the border" -- an offense punishable by imprisonment or corrective labor for periods from six months to three years.

-- Horst Hirling, his wife Erika and their four children,

> have sought permission to emigrate to West Germany since 1981. After requesting to emigrate, Hirling was fired from his job. After receiving only refusals to his requests to emigrate, he tried to cross the Yugoslav border illegally in October 1983. Hirling was caught by the authorities, beaten and sentenced to nine months imprisonment. He finished his prison term, but has been unable to find employment.

The ability of Romanian citizens to change their places of residence within the country is also restricted. It is illegal to move to another town or even to another district within the same city without approval of the authorities. The power to grant or deny residence permits is often used as a method to harass activists, and in particular religious activists.

II. Freedom of Religion

After Poland, church attendance in Romania is considered to be the largest in Eastern Europe, and may well reflect disaffection from Party ideology. The Ceausescu regime has sought to capitalize on the high rate of church attendance by claiming that this proves there is religious freedom in Romania. In fact, restrictions on religious practice in Romania are among the most severe in Eastern Europe.

Of the 60 denominations that existed in Romania before World War II, only 14 are currently recognized by the government. Romanian Orthodox, Roman Catholic, Lutheran, Calvinist, Unitarian, Baptist, Pentecostal, Seventh Day Adventist, Jewish and Muslim groups are among the officially recognized sects.

The government agency that monitors religious activity -- and reports directly to the Central Committee -- is known as the Department of Cults. This Department works closely with the Securitate. The Department of Cults not only controls the activities of the recognized religions; it also effectively controls church finances, to the point of paying the salaries of the clergy.

Religious instruction is actively discouraged in Romania, and the role of priests and pastors is strictly defined. Only the Department of Cults is authorized to print and distribute Bibles, and it does so in vastly inadequate numbers. The result is that religious literature is virtually inaccessible to believers in Romania. Distribution of such literature by unauthorized individuals is punishable by severe prison terms.

The government's tight control over the distribution of religious materials has led to a number of cases of "Bible smuggling." Those arrested for this offense are imprisoned for violating the official restrictions.

The Romanian Orthodox Church has by far the largest following in Romania, with approximately 16 million members or 70 percent of the population. It is not subject to the sort of persecution that the state inflicts on other denominations. This is due, in part, to its traditional role throughout Romanian history, but mainly to the accomodations it has made to the regime.

The membership in the Roman Catholic Church is comprised largely ethnic Hungarians and Germans, and numbers about 1,200,000. Though it is officially recognized, this church is subjected to continual harassment.

Perhaps the largest minority church in Romania is the Reformed Church in Transylvania, composed primarily of ethnic Hungarians and officially numbered at 700,000. Other estimates indicate that the number is closer to one million. Like the Roman Catholics, members of the Reformed Church face persecution.

> -- Father Gaza Palfi, a Hungarian priest who worked in Odorhei, in Transylvania, was allegedly murdered by the Security Police. Father Palfi gave a sermon at a midnight mass on Christmas eve 1984 opposing the government's decision to declare Christmas a working day. He reminded his congregation that in Hungary, Christmas was an official holiday. The following day, he was arrested and severely beaten, particularly around his liver. He was taken to a clinic in Tigru Mures, where he died two months later, in late February. The autopsy was not made public, and the death certificate stated that he died of liver cancer. Two hundred and six priests gathered in protest at his funeral.

The Evangelical Christian churches -- Baptists, Pentecostalists and Seventh Day Adventists -- have long been singled out among the recognized churches for especially harsh treatment. Church buildings have been demolished for petty infractions of the building codes. Families have been evicted for holding "illegal" or "unauthorized" services. Entire congregations have been fined, and religious activists have been imprisoned.

> -- Aurel Florea, a 33-year old Pentecostal from Rupea, has been attacked and beaten by unknown assailants some four times in the past two years. He has been dismissed from his job on accusations of being "mentally ill." Florea used to spend much of his free time visiting other churches in different parts of the country. After one visit in January 1984, he was fined 1000 lei for "attempting to attract proselytes to join the Baptist religious sect." He was attacked later that same day and received injuries that made him unfit for work. The next attacks came on January 10, 1985, on July 10 and on October 14. His friends and relatives are very concerned about his physical and mental condition.

As difficult as circumstances are for the recognized churches in Romania, they are far worse for those who belong to the non-recognized denominations. Two major churches -- the Catholic Church of the Byzantine Rite and the Army of the Lord --

are officially banned. Other banned groups include smaller sects such as the Jehovah's Witnesses, Mormons, Christian Scientists and the Romanian Uniate Church. The nonrecognized faiths are not allowed to hold services and are subject to severe penalties if they do. Participants in such "illegal" services are often arrested or fined on charges of "illegal assembly" or "disturbing the peace."

The Romanian government's practice of demolishing church buildings and historic monuments has been going on for some time. Various reasons are given -- from the building of a new civic center in downtown Bucharest to infractions of the building codes -- but the ultimate purpose seems clear; to stamp out evangelical activism and to erase the religious past of Romania.

> -- A Baptist church in Bistrita was partially demolished by the authorities in November 1984 and has not been repaired.
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> -- A Baptist church in Blaj was demolished in October 1985 for building code violations.
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> -- A Baptist church in Gaujani was taken over in 1984 for use as a nursery school, and the congregation has been unable to find a building to replace the church or to obtain compensation from the government.

III. Political Prisoners

The number of political prisoners in Romania is not known. Many are incarcerated for seeking to leave Romania illegally or for protesting the denial of exit permission; others are imprisoned because of their religious or human rights activities. While information is scarce, there is reason to believe that forcible confinement in psychiatric hospitals is frequently used to punish people for the legitimate exercise of their rights.

Religious and political activists are frequently detained and interrogated in Romania, although detention does not always result in arrest. When people are summoned or taken to the local security offices, they are often subjected to long periods of interrogation under rigorous conditions, threatened with a variety of penalties, and sometimes physically abused. In addition, there are reports of extremely harsh prison conditions.

Romanian law does not provide for habeas corpus or the right to counsel, and the concept of due process does not exist. Persons detained for political offenses usually disappear suddenly, and their families and friends have no means of discovering their whereabouts. In this way, prisoners can be held in incommunicado detention for long periods during investigation.

> -- Gheorghe Emil Ursu, a 59-year-old engineer and poet, died in detention in November 1985. Ursu had disappeared from his place of work on September 21, and his family never learned where he was being held.
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> Ursu had previously been subjected to a seven-month investigation -- from January 1985 until August 1985 -- on the basis on personal diaries that he had been keeping for the last 40 years. The diaries were confiscated by the Security Police and his home was searched in order to find any concealed materials. Starting on January 3, he was summoned to the security headquarters every night after work and interrogated about people mentioned and remarks made in his diaries. He was accused of conspiracy because his diaries included the names of people who had emigrated and who were mentioned in his notes as friends, acquaintances or simply interesting people.
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> At the beginning of August, he attended what was described as the final session. He was asked for a written declaration expressing his apologies for the offenses he had committed and expressing his gratitude to the people who had investigated him. Nothing further happened until his disappearance on September 21.
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> No specific charges were ever brought against Ursu. His family was prevented from seeing him and from getting any

information from the authorities on his case, until they received a call explaining that he was very sick. Later that day, the family was informed that he had died.

The official explanation is that Ursu died after complications due to surgery. However, reports indicate that his body showed signs of having been badly beaten. It seems likely that he died due to the beatings he received at the hands of the Secret Police.

-- Radu Filipescu, a 29-year-old electronics engineer, was arrested in May 1983 for distributing leaflets that called for peaceful demonstrations against the Ceausescu regime. In September 1983, he was sentenced to 10 years imprisonment for "anti-state propaganda." Filipescu is being held in Aiud prison and has reportedly received particularly harsh treatment.

The judiciary is subordinate to the Party and the government. Trials may be legally held behind closed doors -- a practice used most often when a trial is likely to attract undue attention and the Ceausescu regime wishes to prevent foreign observers and diplomats from attending.

IV. Workers Rights

The Ceausescu regime boasts of full employment, full housing and contented workers. In reality, however, working conditions are quite pitiable in Romania and, without free trade unions, workers cannot press their demands.

The only independent trade union in Romania was SLOMR, the Free Trade Union of Workers in Romania, formed in 1979 by a group of intellectuals and workers. SLOMR eventually attracted some 2,000 supporters. The Romanian authorities rapidly suppressed the fledgling labor movement.

The plight of Romanian workers is illustrated by a labor law, known as the "Global Agreement," that was enacted in September 1983. This law has effectively eliminated fixed and guaranteed wages. Workers must now sign a contract which amounts to a pledge of productivity. If a worker is deemed to have reneged on his or her contract, the pledge itself is used as the legal grounds for punishment. Workers' salaries are tied to the enterprise's production, and salaries are decreased if the production figures are not met. There were many reports in 1985 of workers receiving greatly reduced wages as a result of this system, and of an increase in "moonlighting" in order to attain minimum income levels.

Another government plan introduced in 1985 provided for 50 per cent salary cuts if production quotas are not met in export-related industries.

In addition, a five-year training period has been instituted. During this time, a worker is considered an "associate" (or "second-class") employee with only limited rights. Among other things, an associate worker receives only half of his or her salary, while the other half is deposited in a state savings bank -- without interest. If the worker leaves the enterprise before the end of the five-year period, he or she loses the withheld money.

Agricultural workers rights are affected by a program announced in January 1984, which is designed to offset the inefficiency of the socialized agricultural sector by squeezing private agriculture. Private agriculture, consisting of private plots of land that belong to members of agricultural cooperatives and to private farmers, has long supplied the country with significant quantities of food, accounting for a large proportion of Romania's total national production. The new program requires every private plot to produce strictly specified minimum quotas of agricultural products. These quotas are replacing the previous system of compulsory delivery to the state. Failure to comply with them will result either in the loss of ownership of the land, or in its transfer to the socialized sector. In all likelihood, this program will cause a drop in private production, which, in turn, will increase the already serious food shortage that has existed in Romania for the last several years.

V. Minority Rights

Ethnic minorities constitute 12 percent of Romania's 21 million people. The largest minority is Hungarian, officially tabulated at 1.7 million people, but closer to 2.5 million, according to emigre sources. In addition to Hungarians, Romania has a large number of ethnic Germans, Bohemians, Gypsies and numerous smaller groups.

The minority groups in Romania often say that they live under a double burden: the burden of repression in a totalitarian state, and the burden of discrimination stemming from Romanian chauvinism and an official policy of "Romanianization."

The Hungarian minority, centered mainly in Transylvania, claims that the Ceausescu regime is engaged in a deliberate policy of "cultural genocide." Hungarian schools, churches, traditions and even the Hungarian language are being systematically eliminated from Romanian society. The forced assimilation to which ethnic Hungarians are being subjected increasingly takes the form of discriminatory and sometimes brutal practices.

The London Times of June 6, 1985, reported that a new, discriminatory decree has been passed limiting the number of Hungarian-speaking students at the University of Cluj to 5 per cent. Prior to this decree, Hungarian students made up 65 per cent of the student body. The government also decreed that all geography and history teachers in all schools in Transylvania must be Romanian -- a provocative move given the conflicting Romanian and Hungarian interpretations of the area's history.

> -- Arpad Visky, an actor with the Hungarian Theaters of Marosvasarhely (Tigru Mures) and of Sepsiszentgyorgy (Sfintul Gheorghe), was sentenced on August 7, 1983, to five years imprisonment for "slandering Romania, the Romanian people and the socialist system" and "disseminating hostile propaganda." He was released in September 1984.
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> On January 5, 1986, Visky was found dead by a police officer, hanged in a forest outside Sfintul Gheorghe. Though the offical report claimed that he had committed suicide, the circumstances are extremely unclear. Visky had applied to emigrate to Hungary in the fall of 1985 and, according to sources close to him, he was not suicidal.

Publications sent from Hungary are often confiscated by the Romanian authorities. It is virtually impossible to subscribe to newspapers or periodicals from Hungary which are not on sale in Romania. The Romanians have also placed restrictions on sending some Hungarian-language publications printed in Romania to Hungary. This makes it difficult for people in Hungary to get reliable information about the Hungarian minority in Romania.

There have also been reports of harassment of foreigners who visit Transylvania and meet with Hungarian intellectuals.

> -- In October 1984, Zsolt Szekeres, a United Nations employee, visited Transylvania and met with several well-known Hungarian intellectuals. After his visit, the Romanian secret police interrogated all the people with whom he had met. It is alleged that threats and violence were employed during some of these interrogations.

> Szekeres himself was detained in Tigru Mures by the Romanian traffic police when he was en route to Cluj to meet with Geza Szocs. It is reported that he was falsely accused of having been involved in a traffic accident, and was forced to spend the night in the city. The next day he was interrogated for seven hours concerning his contacts in Transylvania and in Washington D.C. Szekeres claims that the police threatened him during interrogation.

VI. New Categories of Repression

Several recent governmental campaigns in Romania entail new and even deeper infringements of citizens' rights to privacy by the Securitate which arbitrarily violate the privacy of the family, home and correspondance.

One such invasion of privacy relates to the severe restrictions on private electrical consumption that have been in force in Romania for several years and became even more extreme during the winter of 1984-85. The authorities arbitrarily enter homes on the pretext of checking for excessive or illegal use of electricity, also taking the opportunity to look for illegal items, such as religious literature. Thus economic restrictions have been used to facilitate invasions of privacy.

Another new campaign is aimed at eliminating abortions. On February 15, 1985, the Party declared the necessity of taking "firm measures...to achieve a doubling of the natural increase in the population in the shortest possible time...mainly by raising the birth rate." One of the measures implemented to this end was the establishment of a new governmental agency, the County Demographic Command, to monitor the female population of child-bearing age to ensure that they are having children. Under this program monthly gynecological examinations are required to prevent unauthorized abortions. Without certificates verifying that these examinations have taken place, Romanian women can be denied social and medical services. Moreover, couples without children are taxed an addition 300 lei per month.

The urban renewal program being waged with such furor by the regime has produced a new category of victims -- elderly people. A new program was announced by Ceausescu in 1985 which empowers the government to relocate elderly people out of the cities into rural, industrial complexes. There have also been many reports of older people being victimized in other ways, such as denial of medical attention and social benefits. Opponents of the regime claim that this persecution of the elderly proves that the regime is engaged in a campaign to wipe out its older, less productive population.

PREPARED STATEMENT OF LASZLO HAMOS

Mr. Chairman, my name is László Hāmos, and I am president of the Hungarian Human Rights Foundation, a nationwide non-profit organization incorporated in New York State. The Foundation is an outgrowth of the Committee for Human Rights in Rumania, an organization which has, and continues to closely monitor the condition of human rights and the rights of national minorities in that country since 1976.

I feel honored by the opportunity to testify before this Committee and I commend you for scheduling this hearing. The subject of our foreign policy toward Rumania has not received any attention from this Committee in the past few years, although there is plenty there that would merit your scrutiny. The hearing is also significant because of its focus, at least partial, on human rights. Members of the human rights community certainly hope that this hearing will not remain a one-time occasion.

The point of my testimony, Mr. Chairman, is that our policy toward Rumania has been based on false premises for a considerable time now. It vastly overvalues what is regarded as Rumania's relative independence in foreign relations, and it ignores the most brutal human rights violations committed by any East European government in recent times.

Those of us Americans who are of East European origin have long had to realize that Eastern Europe is not important in the wider scheme of things. The President, the Secretary of State, or this Committee seldom pays careful attention to the details, the whys and wherefores of our policy toward Eastern Europe, unless there is a crisis such as the one in Poland recently. The formulation, management and execution of East European policy is left to the second and third echelon bureaucrats in the State Department, who have neither the inclination nor the authority for innovation. Rather, their self-imposed measure of success is to cultivate a trouble-free relationship with the countries on their beat, at any cost. Indeed, for some of these officials the idea of human rights in our foreign policy is a nuisance, a contemptible and thoroughly unprofessional preoccupation.

In our experience, it is these officials who have had a dominant role in the formulation and execution of our policy toward East Euroope, and it is they who have packaged and presented it every five years, when the President or the Secretary of State has decided to cast a fleeting glance at that policy. Our policy with respect to Rumania thoroughly reflects this reality. For well over a decade now, this policy has been built on the false image of a brave little maverick of a government, struggling mightily to preserve its independence against the Soviet Union. Allow me to quote here from a study on Rumania's foreign policy, whose author is today a leading Rumanian affairs analyst for Radio Free Europe (Vladimir Socor, "The Limits of National Independence in the Societ Bloc: Rumania's Foreign Policy Reconsidered", Orbis, Fall 1976):

> "The idea of an independent Rumanian foreign policy is meaningful to the extent to which it would have diverged from Soviet policies and adversely affected, or at least refrained from supporting, Soviet interests and objectives. This view is not confirmed by the factual evidence, much of which points to the opposite direction.
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> "The phraseology of independence has been ingeniously manipulated by Bucharest leaders to modify the image of their regime abroad. The endeavor has proven largely successful, as the pretense has often been accepted at face value. In lieu of substantiation by actual policies, the nationalistic rhetoric, along with leaks and 'confidences' elaborately disseminated by Bucharest to the Western press, officials and ranking visitors, have been accepted as evidence of an independent foreign policy. (...) Thus rhetoric and a sustained policy of misinformation have combined to erase the satellite image and build the new image of a "national Communist" regime striving for independence from Moscow".

The irony of this analysis is that it was published almost 10 years ago -- and quoted by our organization in Senate testimony at that time. During the intervening years, the hollowness of this myth has been proven time and again. Yet, our State Department seems not to have learned a thing. They will come back and tell you how Rumania allows some measure of Jewish emigration, without telling you that it is the only East European country where anti-Semitic writings have been officially published. They will tell you of Bucharest's diplomatic relations with Israel, without telling you that Bucharest is a hotbed for Arab terrorists, where actual murders of rival thugs and moderate Arab diplomats have occurred. They will wax poetic on Rumania's participation in the Olympics, when this is precisely the spectacular but cost-free and empty gesture that the above-quoted essay was talking about. They will try to convince you that Rumania's "independence" serves U.S. interests without telling you, for instance, about the attempt by Rumanian diplomats to blow up Radio Free Europe headquarters in Munich -- a foiled act of international terrorism against an important U.S. facility.

Mr. Chairman, just as the manipulations of Rumania's dictator serve no significant U.S. interests, similarly, the present State Department line toward Rumania ill-serves our interest in that region. The last major revision of our East European policy occurred during the Carter Administration, at the initiative of then-National Security Advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski. We witnessed the introduction of the policy of differentiation, that is, the proposition that we should treat the East European countries on their own individual merits and not as a set of appendices to the Soviet Union. The move was a wise one, for more than one reason. It reflected a confident, affirmative assertion that we do have our own interests and objectives in Eastern Europe and that the Soviet Union is not necessarily the only gatekeeper to Eastern Europe. It was based on the realization that, while remaining mindful of Soviet security interests (or rather, of Soviet perceptions of those interests), we do possess some chips to mete out in the form of economic and political rewards and punishments in Eastern Europe. To its credit, the Reagan administration quickly realized the soundness of this policy and adopted it after entering office.

A very significant chip is our government's ability to express approvals and disapprovals concerning human rights. The institutionalization of human rights in our foreign policy created a tremendous amount of goodwill and credibility for the United States in Eastern Europe. It directly identified U.S. ideals and values with the most cherished aspirations of those peoples and it gave legitimacy to the efforts of the bravest among them -- those activists and intellectuals dedicated to human rights. It is not enough, however, to announce a good policy. We must also implement it with some consistency. And it is in this realm that we have utterly failed with regard to Rumania.

Mr. Chairman, you would be hard put to find a single person in Eastern Europe who thinks that the international posturing of President Ceausescu brings any benefit to the Rumanian people, or to anyone but the Rumanian dictator himself. When we seem to accept this posturing at face value and, in turn, ignore the savage violations of human rights his regime regularly commits, we appear either as cynical hypocrites and manipulators ourselves, or, at best, a bunch of dupes. Either way, we waste the tremendous political capital we gained through our public stand on human rights.

The lesson taught to Ceausescu by our policy inconsistencies is nothing new to him. Our diplomacy seldom has an institutional memory which extends beyond the previous Administration. Those with a stronger historical background, however, recall that the Byzantine tradition -- where today's Rumanian diplomacy has its roots -- always favored deception and double-dealing. This is the country, after all, that started both world wars on the losers' side, but with a timely switch, ended up on the winners' side, and was richly rewarded in territorial gains. What then, is the lesson for today's Rumanian diplomatic corps? The same lesson taught by our own foreign policy: lie, cheat and be rewarded.

Mr. Chairman, Rumania's distinction in Eastern Europe does not lie in its foreign policy. Its distinction lies in being the only country in the region which has never undergone a process of de-Stalinization. It is a full-fledged Stalinist dictatorship, with the added feature of a pervasive nepotism on the part of the ruling dictator.

The central concern of my organization, as I have indicated, is Rumania's oppressed national minorities, among them 2.5 million Hungarians, about 350,000 Germans, Serbs, Turks, Ukrainians, Greeks and others. I want to emphasize, however, that those of Rumanian ethnicity also suffer gravely under this brutal regime. No citizen of Rumania, with the possible exception of some secret police and Party types, experience any benefit from Mr. Ceausescu's policies. Indeed, outside of his large family and certain State Department officials, it would be difficult to find anyone pleased by those policies.

A week ago today, the U.S. Senate ratified the Genocide Convention. It is not as well known, however, that the 1948 draft of the Convention included a definition of the concept: "cultural genocide." Cultural genocide was defined as the destruction of the historical relics and cultural treasures of an ethnic group, with the deliberate intention of depriving that group of characteristics that distinguish it from similar groups and that are the very essence of the group. Although the final version of the Convention omitted the concept (because it wanted to concentrate on physical mass murder), it does no credit to the Rumanian government that its minority policies today correspond exactly to the definition of cultural genocide. There is no time for me to list here the major developments in this consistent policy carried on for over 25 years now. In the section which follows I provide a chronology of official anti-minority measures which can leave no doubt about the deliberate nature and the ultimate goal of this policy. The destruction of the 405 year-old Hungarian Bolyai University, the gradual elimination of the opportunity for children to study in their native tongue, the closing of Hungarian cultural institutions, the harassment and terrorization of Hungarian priests and churches, the confiscation of Hungarian archives and historical relics, the forced migrations to break up compact ethnic communities and the physical terror imposed on leading Hungarian cultural figures can have no other explanation but the existence of a deliberate policy to forcibly denationalize Rumania's minorities.

As a Stalinist dictatorship, the Rumanian government exercises total control over every facet of social life and over most aspects of private life. Until the last few years Mr. Ceausescu seemed content to exercise control over the minorities with methods short of brutal physical violence. During the last 5-6 years, however, even this has changed. Since the mid-1970's, as it became more and more obvious that the ultimate goal of the Ceausescu regime is the total elimination of minority cultures, determined spokesmen of the Hungarian minority began speaking out openly, both within the country and through the Western media. The official response, instead of instituting long overdue reforms, was more oppression and ever increasing physical terror in the form of beatings, disappearances and murders by the police. The final portions of my written statement describe several of these cases.

Mr. Chairman, I have spent ten years now investigating these abuses, collecting the evidence and presenting it to our Congress and State Department. While I have found considerable sympathy in Congress, our State Department is too enamored of Mr. Ceausescu to concern itself with matters as trifling as the forced denationalization of one sixth of all Hungarians in the world. Indeed, the manner in which the State Department has ignored the pleas of close to two million Hungarian-Americans is nothing less than contemptuous.

Mr. Ceausescu, in the meantime, has little to be concerned about as regards our stand on human rights. He has learned long ago that it is simply not to be taken seriously. The more brutal his policies are, the less chance that we react in any meaningful fashion. Indeed, one conclusion I have drawn from ten years of human rights work is that often our Congress and State Department are more likely to act in the case of a relatively mild human rights violation than in the case of a serious one. Everyone loves to write letters to secure a visa for a family visit. Or, when I was initially denied a visa to attend the Budapest Cultural Forum last October -- an insignificant diplomatic foul-up -- it was the talk of the relevant bureaus of the State Department and the

Helsinki Commission for days. I have yet to see one tenth of that interest expended on the case of Father Géza Pálfi, the Hungarian Catholic priest in Rumania who was beaten to death because of a Christmas Eve sermon. It was a well documented case, even according to our then-Ambassador to Rumania. Or how about the notorius case of the 20,000 Hungarian Bibles recycled into toilet paper in Rumania, another set of facts which has been thoroughly documented. It was presented at a press conference and a Senate hearing on Capitol Hill. The result? Uneasy silence. Why this odd reaction? Very simple. These cases are so outrageous, so sacrilegious, so violative of any norm of human decency that a simple insert into the Congressional Record would no longer do the trick. Everyone realizes that to react would require that we do something serious. Now, there is no scarier thought than that: doing something serious about a human rights violation. Everyone knows that we are all for human rights, but strictly on a cost-free, bargain basement basis. No pain, please. If someone talks to us about 20,000 Bibles turned into toilet paper, we will listen, look stunned, shift around uncomfortably, and then let's change the subject.

Mr. Chairman, I hope you will excuse my ironic tone, but ten years of following our foreign policy with respect to Mr. Ceausescu has taken its toll. In sum, let me emphasize that our policy of indulging this primitive and brutal dictator serves no vital American interest and contributes nothing to a better future for the peoples of Eastern Europe. On the other hand, it undermines our credibility and reveals the hypocritical nature of our human rights pronouncements. One last thought: the Ceausescu era is coming to an end. The tyrant is close to 70 years old and reportedly gravely ill. Change will probably follow his passing -- probably for the better, because it is hard to see what could be worse for the inhabitants of Rumania. Why it is that we must always be identified with the old, the oppressive, the rotten, the corrupt? Why can't we break now with this despicable tyrant and, when change comes, be identified with that change? Such an act would send a far more powerful message of hope to the peoples of Eastern Europe than all the contemptible cowtowing to Mr. Ceausescu over the past ten years lumped into one.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chronology of Minority Persecution

The state of Rumania contains an inmense minority population consisting of 2.5 million Hungarians, 400,000 Germans and a sizeable number of Ukranians, Jews, Serbs, Greeks, Turks and others. The Hungarians alone comprise the largest national minority in Europe. Most of these peoples live in Transylvania which is one of Europe's most significant multi-ethnic regions. Were enlightened 20th Century standards applied, Transylvania could be a model for the coexistence of diverse nationalities in an atmosphere of mutual tolerance and understanding. However, under the rule of Rumania's current dictator Nicolae Ceausescu, nothing could be further from the truth.

For the past three decades, this enormous minority population has been the object of a carefully planned, systematic and aggressive campaign of forceful assimilation -- a campaign which amounts to cultural genocide. This outrage must be borne in addition to the usual intolerance and terror which affects the life of every citizen of a Communist state, regardless of ethnic origin.

Conditions were not always as severe for Rumania's minorities -- even during the period following the postwar introduction of Communism. The few years of relative liberalism under the administration of Prime Minister Petru Groza (1945-1952) vividly demonstrates that minority oppression is simply not necessary in order to sustain even a Communist system of government.

The following chronology focuses on the introduction and gradual intensification of Rumania's nationalist policies since 1956. During the 1980's, faced with popular discontent resulting from sharply deteriorating economic conditions, the Ceausescu regime has intensified the appeals to chauvinistic sentiment. Instead of instituting long overdue reforms, the government actively propounds the myth of Rumanian cultural superiority, hoping in this way to deflect criticism and salvage some measure of national cohesion. The precise details of this campaign have been presented by our organization in over 1,000 pages of printed testimony before various Congressional committees during the past ten years. Rather than repeat those facts, the chronology below is followed by a summary description of only those anti-minority measures which have been instituted within the past six months, since our last statement before the Senate Finance Committee.

1956 On October 23, the Hungarian uprising in Budapest leads to extensive unrest in Transylvania with demonstrations in most of the large Hungarian-inhabited cities. Mass arrests, imprisonments, deportations, and many executions follow. The events of 1956 are later used as an excuse to justify a major onslought of anti-Hungarian measures throughout Transylvania.

1958 Petru Groza dies on January 7. He was the Rumanian leader who had attempted to overcome nationalistic policies and to normalize Rumanian-Hungarian relations.

1959 On March 5, the Hungarian-language Bolyai University is compelled to merge with the Rumanian Babes University at Cluj (Kolozsvár), becoming the Babes-Bolyai University. A Party functionary, Nicolae Ceausescu, is assigned to carry out the merger, which constitutes the first step in the Rumanianization of Hungarian higher education in Transylvania. Three Hungarian professors, including the writer László Szabédi, commit suicide to protest the merger.

1960 The overall administrative reorganization of Rumania provides the opportunity for gerrymandering the Hungarian Autonomous Region out of existence. Purely Hungarian areas are detached from it, while Rumanian-inhabited areas are attached to it to dilute its compact Hungarian character. The name of the region is also changed to reflect this erosion. It is henceforth called "Mures-Maghiar Autonomous Region."

1965 Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej dies on March 19. He is succeeded as first party secretary by Nicolae Ceausescu on March 22. The shrill nationalistic orientation introduced by Gheorghiu-Dej is intensified under Ceausescu, with minorities reduced more and more to the status of second-class citizens.

1968 On February 14, the administrative reorganization of Rumania eliminates the Mures-Maghiar Autonomous Region and replaces it with the counties of Mures, Harghita and Covasna.

1968 During August 15-17, Nicolae Ceausescu visits Czechoslovakia. The visit is followed shortly by the Soviet and Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia. Rumania does not participate in the invasion and issues a strongly worded declaration on national sovereignty, independence and the principle of noninterference in domestic affairs (August 21-22). These events set the stage for a brief (1968-73) thaw in majority-minority relations in Transylvania.

1968 The Hungarian Nationality Workers' Council and the German Nationality Workers' Council are established to serve as agencies for the articulation of minority needs and interests. However, their founding document reveals them as a device for undermining minority interests, and the Councils are given no voice in matters affecting minority affairs.

1973 On May 11, Decree Law 278 requires the presence of a minimum of twenty-five students at the grade school level and thirty-six students at the high school level to maintain instruction in a minority language. This discriminatory quota, coupled with a provision requiring Rumanian classes in nationality schools, is used to eliminate minority-language schools and classes throughout Transylvania.

1974 During October 15 - November 2, Act No. 63 on the protection of the national cultural treasures and Decree Law 207 (1974), amending Decree Law 472 (1971) on the National Archives, opens the door to the legal confiscation of all "documents, recordings, official and private correspondence, diaries, manifestos, posters, sketches, drawings, engravings, imprints, seals, and like material" over thirty years old from the possession of religious and cultural institutions or private citizens. This tool for legally confiscating historically significant items makes it possible for the nationalistic Rumanian regime to eradicate the history of the Germans, Hungarians and other nationalities in Transylvania.

1974 On November 1, Decree Law 225 is issued, prohibiting the accommodation of non-Rumanian citizens in private homes with the exception of immediate family members. A later amendment (Decree Law 372, issued on November 8, 1976) continues the objective of restricting contact between the Hungarians of Transylvania and their conationals in other parts of the world.

1974 Zoltán Kallős, a highly regarded Transylvanian-Hungarian ethno-musicologist, is imprisoned on false charges of "homosexuality." It is widely believed that the real reson for his arrest is his research work on the folk music of the Hungarian Csángős of Moldavia. Kallős is adopted as a Prisoner of Conscience by Amnesty International and later released due to international pressure.

1974 Under the pretext of "paper shortages," six Hungarian-language daily newspapers are reduced to weeklies. Rumanian-language newspapers reduced in circulation at the same time are later reinstated, but not the Hungarian-language publications.

1977 The census of February shows that, out of Rumania's total population of 21.5 million, approximately 1.7 million are Hungarians. These figures, as do those of 1955 and 1956 (as well as earlier censuses), underrepresent the actual Hungarian population of Rumania. According to objective, outside analysts, the Hungarian population is probably closer to 2.4 million in Rumania in 1977.

1977 On June 2, Károly Király, former first party secretary of Covasna County, member of the Party Central Committee, alternate member of the Politburo, member of the Grand National Assembly, and member of the Council of State writes his first letter to Ilie Verdet (Politburo member responsible for the ideological matters and nationality policies), raising the shortcomings of Rumanian nationality policies. After he fails to receive any response, he writes János Fazekas in August and János Vincze in September about this same problem. Instead of receiving a hearing, he is called to Bucharest in October and is accused of having no faith in the Party leadership.

1977 In June, Hungarian Premier János Kádár and Rumanian President Nicolae Ceausescu hold meetings in the border towns of Oradea (Nagyvárad) in Rumania, and Debrecen in Hungary. An agreement, never made public, is reportedly arrived at to improve the situation of Transylvanian-Hungarians, but it produces no visible results. A Rumanian Consulate in Debrecen, opened after the meeting, is closed by Rumanian authorities in February 1985.

1977 In November, Lajos Takács, former rector of the Babes-Bolyai University in Kolozsvár (Cluj) and a candidate member of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Communist Party, issues a memorandum protesting the absence of minority rights and presenting a list of 18 demands for the restoration of Hungarian-language opportunities. None of his proposals are implemented.

1978 In January, the Károly Király letters are published in major newspapers throughout the West. He is harassed and forced to leave his hometown of Tirgu Mures (Marosvásárhely) and to go into "internal exile" to the small town of Caransebes (Karánsebes). Soon after he speaks to three Western correspondents about minority conditions in Rumania he is also deprived of his post as vice president of the Hungarian Nationality Workers' Council.

1978 In April, Rumanian President Nicolae Ceausescu visits the United States. Public demonstrations and widespread protests against minority oppression in Rumania accompany his trips to Washington, D.C., New York and other U.S. cities. Despite regular visits to the United States in prior years, exposure of his regime's oppressive human rights and nationality policies may account for the lack of further trips to date.

1978 On December 21, a new law on Education and Instruction is enacted. Although it is supposed to supercede Decree Law 278, the new law does not rectify the discriminatory practices of the 1973 law. In effect, it perpetuates the discriminatory policies by remaining silent about the real needs of minority instruction.

1981 In December, the Hungarian-language "samizdat" periodical entitled Ellenpontok (Counterpoints) starts publication. Until its violent dismantling in January 1983, 10 issues are prepared and disseminated, making it the first and thus far only underground journal to appear regularly in Rumania.

1982 In the Spring, a book entitled A Word About Transylvania (Cuvint Despre Transilvania, Editura Sport-Turism, Bucharest) by Ion Lancranjan is published and widely distributed in Rumania. A virulent and primitive anti-Hungarian diatribe, the tract is but the first of numerous similar, officially-sanctioned publications, stigmatizing the minorities in a transparent effort to detract attention away from the country's growing economic misery.

1982 In the Fall, inflammatory, anti-Hungarian flyers written in Rumanian appear in Southeastern Transylvania. The texts, such as "Rumanian Brothers! The Hungarians are traitors, they want to give Transylvania away. Stop them! Beat them! Tear them asunder!" and "Rumanian brothers! Rid the country of the Hungarian parasites so that we can be its true possessors!" openly incite Rumanians against Hungarians.

1982 In September, the editors of Ellenpontok (Counterpoints) issue a "Memorandum and Program Proposal in the Interest of Improving the Deprived Condition of the Hungarians in Rumania," addressed to the participants of the CSCE Madrid Review Meeting. In early November, after the documents reach the Conference, the Securitate conducts widespread house-searches and interrogations throughout Transylvania to uncover the identities of the editors of the periodical.

1982 In November, the editors of Ellenpontok are revealed to be Attila Ara-Kovács, philosopher, Géza Szőcs, poet, and Károly Toth, professor. The three are arrested, interrogated and tortured for several days, only to be released upon international protest.

1983 After releasing its last issue in January, the Hungarian-language periodical Ellenpontok (Counterpoints) is forcibly disbanded by the Rumanian authorities. Attila Ara-Kovács and Károly Toth are expelled from Rumania to Hungary, and only Géza Szőcs remains in Rumania, under virtual house arrest at his home in Cluj (Kolozsvár).

1983 Ernő Borbély, a Hungarian secondary school teacher from Miercurea Ciuc (Csíkszereda) is sentenced by a secret military court in Bucharest to six years imprisonment on false charges of "treason." He had been arrested on November 23, 1982 after extensive house-searches at his home. He remains imprisoned, reportedly in an underground cell, at the political prison in Jilava, near Bucharest.

1983 On March 23, László Buzás, a Hungarian engineer from Miercurea Ciuc (Csíkszereda) is also arrested after a series of police interrogations commencing on November 22, 1982. His case is believed to be connected with that of Borbély, as the two had protested the appearance of the anti-Hungarian flyers quoted above. Buzás is also sentenced to six years imprisonment on false charges of "treason." He remains incarcerated, reportedly, in the same jail as Borbély.

1983 Béla Páll, a retired Hungarian mathematics teacher from Ditrau (Ditró) is arrested on April 30 upon his return from a perfectly legal visit to Hungary. Páll is sentenced in November on unknown charges. Reports in mid-1985 indicate that he has been driven insane by cruel treatment in the locked hospital ward of the political prison in Jilava, near Bucharest.

1983 On May 20, the Hungarian Press of Transylvania (HPT) announces its formation. In its first release, the group declares "the creation in Transylvania of the Transylvanian Hungarians' 'unofficial' news agency" and states as its purpose to provide "reliable and detailed information concerning the unrestrained terror prevailing in Rumania." Since its inception, the Hungarian Press of Transylvania has issued 209 releases to date, 27 in 1983, 72 in 1984, 103 in 1985, and 7 in 1986 to date, establishing itself as a credible and consistent source of news. HPT editors and reporters, however, constrain themselves to anonimity to protect their news sources from the "well-known brutality of the Rumanian authorities."

1984 The London Times (September 30) reports a decree limiting the number of Hungarian-speaking students at the University of Cluj (Kolozsvár) to 5% (at an institution where Hungarians comprise 65%) of the student body. The same newspaper reports passage of another decree specifying that all geography and history teachers be ethnic Rumanians.

1984 In November, Géza Szőcs, Hungarian poet and minority rights advocate submits a Memorandum to the Central Committee of the Rumanian Communist Party protesting minority rights abuses and proposing corrective measures. On March 28, 1985 he submits a second "Supplemental Memorandum to the Central Committee of the Rumanian Communist Party. In both cases, the only official response is to subject him to lengthy house-searches and secret police interrogations.

1984 In a speech on December 27 before the Joint Sessions of the Hungarian and German Nationality Workers' Councils, Nicolae Ceausescu declares once more that "the national question has been solved completely in this country," and that "any attempts at diversion, at questioning it, can only misinform the respective people and nations."

1985 In January, all minority-language television and radio broadcasting is terminated in Rumania. Only a fifteen-minute Hungarian-language radio broadcast from Bucharest remains, remote from the Hungarian-inhabited regions of Transylvania. The Rumanian regime, whose previous propoganda had boasted loudly of the minority-language broadcast facilities, has with this measure apparently embarked on an open assault against minority cultural institutions.

1985 In February, Géza Szőcs prepares a memorandum entitled "Proposal for the Creation of a UN-Supervised International Agency to Protect the Rights of National Minorities." It is later signed by Károly Király and noted Rumanian dissident poet Dorin Tudoran. As a direct response, on June 29 Szőcs' home is searched, all his hand-written material is confiscated, and he is taken to Securitate headquarters in Cluj (Kolozsvár) for 14 hours of continuous interrogation. In late Summer, as a result of U.S. pressure prior to extension of Rumania's Most Favored Nation status, Dorin Tudoran is given permission to emigrate.

1985 In June, rolls of toilet paper from Rumania recycled from Hungarian-language Bibles, are publicly displayed in Washington, D.C. Evidence is also presented that the toilet paper had been manufactured from 20,000 Bibles donated by the Hungarian Reformed Church in 1975, for distribution among Hungarians in Rumania. At the time it first received Most Favored Nation status from the United States, the Rumanian regime had pointed to the acceptance of the Bibles as proof of its magnanimity toward the Hungarian minority.

1985 As the academic year begins, it becomes clear that the last remaining secondary schools teaching in the Hungarian language have been eliminated. Henceforth, such instruction is available only at a diminished number of Rumanian school sections.

1985 On September 30 and October 1, large scale house-searches take place in the Transylvania cities of Satu Mare (Szatmárnémeti) and Cluj (Kolozsvár), respectively. Hungarian and Rumanian intellectuals, among them András Visky, engineer, Éva Cs. Gyimesi, professor, Zoltán Wrábel and the Rumanian music teacher Marius Tabacu are harassed, all their hand-written material is confiscated and interrogations by the Securitate last several days. The Hungarian poet Géza Szőcs is interrogated 12 hours a day until October 14, the day before the CSCE Budapest Cultural Forum is scheduled to begin. The Securitate's admitted intention is to prevent any document reaching the Budapest Cultural Forum from the Hungarian minority. Nevertheless, Géza Szőcs' letter is read in Budapest on October 15.

1986 On January 5, Árpád Visky, a Hungarian actor and prominent cultural figure dies under suspicious circumstances. Visky is found hung in a remote forest outside Sfintul Gheorghe (Sepsiszentgyörgy) by a local policeman minutes after the onset of death. Visky had been imprisoned on February 24, 1983 on political grounds, then granted amnesty and released as a token gesture on September 7, 1984. However, after his release he was banned from performing and forced to work as an unskilled laborer. Prior to his death, Visky had submitted his papers for emigration to Hungary.

Newest Official Anti-Minority Measures

The relentless effort by Rumanian authorities to force the assimilation of the 2.5 million Hungarians of Transylvania has continued unabated since the middle of 1985. Following the notorious model the Soviet Union created in devouring the Baltic countries, Rumania is pressing ahead with its campaign to destroy the educational, cultural and minority-language institutions of the ethnic Hungarian communities. It is undermining the little that remains of minority-language schooling, theaters and churches, and eliminating opportunities in publishing, radio, television and other areas of cultural expression; it is driving the ethnic intelligentsia and leaders into effective internal exile; it is engaging in unlawful population transfers, and is resorting to harassment of individuals and even to bloody violence.

It should be noted that Transylvanian Hungarians are not recent arrivals to the region, somehow trying to impose their language and culture on the surrounding Rumanian people. They have lived in the area since Medieval times and were severed relatively recently from Hungary proper -- to their tragic misfortune. It should be added that cultural, religious and educational autonomy for such minority groups is not only a "fundamental freedom" proclaimed in documents to which Rumania is a signatory, like the United Nations Charter (Article 55) and the Helsinki Accords (Part VII), but is "guaranteed" under Rumania's own constitution.

Police-State Cruelty

The case of the prominent Transylvanian-Hungarian actor Árpád Visky typifies how state secret police ("Securitate") agents deal with dissidents. On several occasions, Visky had dared to comment in public on the arbitrary conduct of Rumanian state security personnel, as well as the general terror prevailing in Rumania. On January 5, 1986, Visky's body was found in a forest outside the town of Sfintul Gheorghe (Sepsiszentgyörgy), where he had been hanged. The circumstances of his death are highly suspicious. According to sources in Sfintul Gheorghe, "Árpád Visky's body was found by the local police in a rarely-traveled, remote region of the forest, and, still more dubious, in the opinion of the medical examiner it was found minutes after the onset of death" (Hungarian Press of Transylvania (hereinafter "HPT") Release No. 4/1986). Earlier (as reported by our organization in testimony before the Senate Finance Committee in 1983, 1984 and 1985), Visky had been tried by a military tribunal in a closed trial and sentenced to five years in prison on false charges of spreading "hostile propaganda." International protest freed him after eighteen months in prison, and before his death he spoke of plans to emigrate to Hungary (ibid.).

Surely, a Congress and an Administration which purport to hold Rumania's human rights behavior as a major condition for extension of Most Favored Nation status should take vigorous steps to investigate this tragedy. How many more acts of barbaric killing, how many more secret police murders like that of the Hungarian Catholic priest Father Géza Pálfi in early 1984, are necessary to produce genuine concern, backed by a willingness to impose sanctions, by our government? Simple human decency, if not the enormous economic and political leverage the U.S. government bears over the tin-pot dictator Nicolae Ceausescu, would warrant a firm response. At the very least, our government should support and facilitate the demand made by scores of world-reknowned writers who, upon hearing of this tragedy during the recent International PEN Congress held in New York, quickly signed the Declaration attached to this statement at page A-2. The Declaration, while deploring the death of Árpád Visky and another helpless victim, the Rumanian engineer and poet Gheorghe Ursu, simply calls upon the Rumanian authorities "to allow an impartial, on-site inquiry into the causes of each death by an internationally recognized human rights group." For our government to do anything less, for it to remain disinterested and unmoved while continuing to blithely reward Rumania with trade and political favors, would amount to a mockery of the moral and democratic principals upon which our country was built.

The imperative to act is all the more pressing, since the above-reported cases are not isolated incidents, but part of a pattern of increasingly brazen and vicious behavior by Rumanian authorities. Father János Csilik, 29, is one of a number of Roman Catholic priests who have been terrorized recently. Between March and May 1985, he was interrogated repeatedly by Securitate agents in Oradea (Nagyvárad) and pressured to work as a police informer. When he refused to collaborate, he was "beaten with clubs" so severely that he was rendered "unable to use his hands for several weeks" ("Ethnic Hungarian Catholic Maltreated in Rumania," Associated Press, Vienna, August 28, 1985; "Rumanian Police Beat Priest, Catholic Agency Says," Reuter, Vienna, August 28, 1985; "Hungarian Priest in Rumania Mishandled," Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, August 30, 1985). After his case was reported in the West, other priests were rounded up in Oradea and ordered to write letters to Radio Free Europe and the Vatican, denying the facts in

Rev. Csilik's case. When one of the ministers refused, "he was told that he would have his head smashed into pieces on the heating radiator if he continued to resist" (HPT Release No. 76/1985).

On July 28, 1985, *Imre Barkó*, another Hungarian actor from Sfintul Gheorghe, was beaten so badly by police that he suffered several broken bones and a severe concussion, and lay for a week in critical condition in a hospital (HPT Release No. 57/1985). Before his release, Barko was forced to sign a false statement that "his injuries were the result of an accident and that he is grateful to the police for providing such quick transportation to the hospital" (HPT Release No. 60/1985).

Béla Páll, a Hungarian mathematics teacher unjustly imprisoned since April 1983, has reportedly been driven insane as a result of cruel treatment in the locked hospital ward of the political prison in Jilava, near Bucharest (HPT Release No. 75/1985). According to its annual report for 1985 (p. 281): "Amnesty International received allegations that Béla Páll was convicted because he had written a letter to Rumanian radio and television asking for more programs in Hungarian, and because in early 1983 he had attended the funeral of Gyula Illyés, a famous Hungarian poet who had protested just before his death at the plight of the Hungarian minority in Rumania." The organization also reported that it "sought further information about the charges against Bela Pall" -- apparently without success. Similarily, Amnesty International "continued to ask for details of the charges against two other ethnic Hungarians: *László Buzás*, an economist, and *Ernő Borbély*, a high school teacher, who were reportedly arrested in November 1982 (see *Amnesty International Report 1984*)" (ibid.).

Bela Pall has languished in prison, without valid cause, for *33 months* now, László Buzás and Ernő Borbély for *more than three years*. Along with others, our organization has raised their cases at every conceivable forum, including five Congressional hearings during the past three years, the U.S.-Rumanian Human Rights Roundtable in Washington (February 27-29, 1984), the Ottawa Human Rights Experts' Meeting (May-June, 1985), the Budapest Cultural Forum (October-November, 1985) and in countless other communications and discussions with State Department personnel. And the result of all this effort? Not so much as the courtesy of even a single reply either by the State Department or our "most favored" friends, the Rumanian regime. Clearly, the time has come for Congress to exert real pressure for answers.

Even ordinary people do not escape beatings and robbery at the hands of the secret police. In one particularly vicious incident last year, Zoltán Oláh, who legitimately had bought a kilogram of coffee in a dollar store on a money order from his U.S. relatives, was beaten to death over his purchase (HPT Release No. 71/1985).

Intimidation of Minority Intellectuals

Intimidation, of course, is a favorite police-state tactic against dissenters. Community rights advocates and opinion leaders have been beaten and subjected to house searches (HPT Release No. 50/1985). In early July, a series of house searches occurred at the homes of Miklós Kun, József Felméri and Istvan Papp in Cluj (Kolozsvár), for alleged dissemination of leaflets protesting human rights violations by the Rumanian regime ("Repression in Transylvania Worsens Following Leafleteering," Die Presse, Vienna, July 19, 1985; "Members of Hungarian Minority Reported Detained in Rumania," Agence France Presse, Vienna, July 18, 1985).

In October, searches took place at the homes of András Visky, a Satu Mare (Szatmárnémet) engineer; the poet Géza Szőcs; the professor Éva Cs. Gyimesi and Zoltán Wrábel, residents of Cluj (Kolozsvár). Manuscripts and letters were confiscated. These steps were apparently taken to prevent these people from sending memoranda to the Budapest Cultural Forum, a Helsinki review meeting, last fall. ("Police Searches in Rumania," Agence France Presse, Vienna, Oct. 9, 1985; HPT Release No. 78/1985).

Despite the harassment, Szőcs was able to send a letter to the Budapest forum (see attached exerpts, p. A-4; the letter was later quoted in a Wall Street Journal editorial, "Post-Summit Sentiments," November 27, 1985). On January 14 of this year, numerous intellectuals including Szőcs and the music teacher Marius Tabacu, were again interrogated in Cluj, in sessions lasting eight hours, this time to prevent the sending of a memorandum to the International PEN Congress in New York (HPT Release No. 3/1986).

Another bizarre display of official paranoia was the search held at the home of György Bözödi, a renowned Transylvanian-Hungarian sociographer and writer, for a book published before the second World War (HPT Release No. 87/1985).

Coerced Population Transfers

The population of Cluj (Kolozs) County includes 350,000 Hungarians, but only 22 Hungarian doctors (HPT Release No. 95/1985). Yet, the noted Transylvanian-Hungarian poet Sāndor Kānyādi was summoned by the district attorney because he had submitted a petition against assigning Hungarian professionals to work in remote regions of the country, far from their roots, when there is a shortage of such professionals in Hungarian-inhabited areas of Transylvania (HPT Release No. 77/1985). On December 20, 1985, Kanyadi reportedly suffered a heart attack (HPT Release No. 103/1985).

Meanwhile, new Rumanian settlements are being established in solid Hungarian areas, against the provisions of the Rumanian Constitution (HPT Release No. 63/1985). Job discrimination against Hungarians is common (HPT Release No. 89/1985). In cases where distant employment assignments are refused by Hungarian university graduates, further harassment follows (HPT Release No. 72/1985). But sometimes bribes secure relief (HPT Release No. 74/1985).

Religious Persecution

Minority churches, long the guardians of cultural tradition, are a special government target, as illustrated by the now-infamous incident of 20,000 Bibles intended for Transylvania's protestant Hungarian minority which were instead distributed to them in the form of toilet paper (reported in The Wall Street Journal, June 14, 1985; Time, June 17, 1985; and other major newspapers throughout the world). An ongoing, more underhanded tactic by the authorities is to systematically confiscate church documents, among them the birth registers, removing irreplacable evidence of minority population history (HPT Release No. 54/1985).

The number of Hungarian ministers is being reduced, and church bodies such as the synod, through the cooperation of state-appointed officials, are used as implements of pressure against minorities (HPT Release No. /1985 51). "The hierarchy of the Transylvanian Hungarian Reformed Church is constrained to take retaliatory measures against those ministers who do not conform to government policies" (Antoine de Gerando, "Minorities in Rumania: A Worsening Situation," Reforme, Paris, May 4, 1985). To effect the curbs, authorities have cut the number of Hungarian Protestant ministers being trained. The theological seminary had six freshmen in 1985, against 40 in earlier years, even though there are at least 100 ministerial vacancies at present (HPT Release No. 73/1985).

Bucharest has effectively manipulated organizations of the Hungarian Reformed Church in Transylvania by promoting the government's own trusted men. For example, Dániel Nagy was elected fraudulently as church leader (HPT Release No. 51/1985). Those who cannot be coopted are demoted. For example, the Rev. László Tőkés wrote a letter protesting certain discriminatory actions against his church and was dismissed from his ministry. Bishop Gyula Nagy threatened to hand him over to the police if he did not stay away from the Kolozsvár Theological Seminary (HPT Release No. 59/1985).

The Rumanian government, in an unnecessarily vengeful act, prevented the Hungarian Catholic Bishop Antal Jakab from participating in the Second Special Synod in the Vatican (HPT Release No. 92/1985).

The government is striving to eliminate the Catholic diocese of Gyulafehérvár and join it to the Bucharest diocese (HPT Release No. 58/1985). As a result, the Hungarian Csángó community would lose an important supporter, though organizationally the group had already been separated from the diocese (HPT Release Nos. 58/1985 and 67/1985).

The Csángós are a particularly resilient and spirited Hungarian ethnic community. They and people traveling to their isolated region are continually harassed (HPT Release No. 83/1985). The Csangos are depicted in government propaganda -- a be comical effort, were it not for its Machiavellian intent -- as being Rumanian despite the fact that their language is Hungarian and they consider themselves Hungarians (HPT Release No. 58/1985).

War on the Hungarian Language

Rumanian officials believe that if the use of Hungarian were stopped the minority-rights problem would fade into history. Thus, Rumanian is promoted at the expense of minority languages. Hungarian-language radio, for instance, in 1981 aired 6-1/2 hours a day, but in 1985 just 1/4 hour. Hungarian-language television in 1981 was on the air 2.7 hours; in 1985, zero (HPT Release No. 62/1985). Punishment is prescribed for watching national television of neighboring Hungary or for distributing its programs, on charges of "chauvinistic attitude" and "promotion of chauvinism" (HPT Release No. 64/1985).

The Rumanian government is not stopping at the border in its battle against Hungarians. The periodical Romania Literara, for example, on the basis of an old war minister's memorandum, attacked Hungary as trying to revive the specter of revanchism (HPT Release No. 97/1985). The country plans to drastically reduce tourism from Hungary (HPT Release No. 90/1985). And the highly regarded Transylvanian-Hungarian playwright András Sütő was prevented from going to Hungary to attend the premier of his newest play (HPT Release Nos. 84/1985 and 98/1985).

In their war on Hungarian culture, authorities in Cluj (Kolozsvár) have attempted to intimidate the Hungarian theater's actors by charging them with nationalism (HPT Release No. 65/1985). They are pushing for the use of Rumanian exclusively in public communications such as lectures, and insist that teachers of all nationalities take Rumanian language courses (HPT Release No. 68/1985).

The campaign extends to publications and publishers. The government has abolished the Hungarian cultural periodical Művelődés (HPT Release Nos. 81/1985 and 101/1985). The Hungarian publishing house in Timisoara (Temesvár) is being closed (HPT Release No. 91/1985). Annihilation awaits the archives of the "Erdélyi Szépmives Céh," a prewar publisher of now museum-quality special literary editions (HPT Release No. 100/1985).

A surreptitious order was issued to send Hungarian masterpieces from their museums to warehouses and for shipping them off to remote parts of Rumania. Plans to sell the works in the West have been reported (HPT Release No. 99/1985).

Schools as the Main Target

Most pernicious in Bucharest's assimilation campaign are the measures against minority-language schooling in the Hungarian regions ("Repression of Hungarians in Rumania," Neue Zürcher Zeitung, Zurich, September 10, 1985). Even for the predominantly Hungarian University in Cluj (Kolozsvár) admission tests are administered in Rumanian only (HPT Release No. 49/1985). After 200 protest petitions were presented, the old requirement was replaced with a new one of "political reliability." As a result, those who exhibit "nationalism" by requesting the admission test in Hungarian are ousted at the "pre-selection" stage (HPT Release No. 49/1985).

Minority educational opportunities are obstructed at every corner. Authorities cut Hungarian day school enrollment in Satu Mare (Szatmar) and instead increased numbers in inferior night school (HPT Release Nos. 52/1985 and 69/1985). In Oradea (Nagyvárad) officials had promised to open Hungarian-language schools, but through delaying tactics avoided taking any action (HPT Release Nos. 53/1985 and 79/1985). In Bihor (Bihar) County an order was issued to the effect that school homeroom and extracurricular activities must be carried out in Rumanian only (HPT Release No. 55/1985).

According to a central directive, general topics such as politics, ethics and civics must be taught in Rumanian even in Hungarian language classrooms. Posters in schools can be worded only in Rumanian, and pictures can depict only Rumanian historical personalities. Teachers' lesson plans and reports must be written in Rumanian. (HPT Release No. 102/1985)

Another government tactic is to not employ Hungarian teachers in Hungarian areas, even if Hungarian is their primary field, but instead to send them to teach their secondary field in remote regions of the country (HPT Release No. 102/1985). At the same time, Rumanian teachers are brought in to fill the vacancies in Hungarian areas. Young Rumanian teachers themselves are often surprised by such assignments. (HPT Release No. /1985 70) For example, in the predominantly Hungarian Covasna (Kovászna) County, 102 new Rumanian and seven new Hungarian teachers were appointed; in Harghita (Hargita) County the ratio is 115 to 8, and in Odorheiu-Secuiesc (Székelyudvarhely), 25 to 2. (HPT Release No. 102/1985).

In Odorheiu-Secuiesc (Székelyudvarhely), where classrooms are filled by Hungarian students, Rumanian teachers teach all subjects except Hungarian. In a health lyceum, admission and graduation tests are administered in Rumanian regardless of what language the instructions were given in (ibid.).

In Hargita County, in the purely Hungarian village of Ditrö a new 11th grade class held in Hungarian was permitted only afer a parallel Rumanian-language class was formed. The latter is filled mostly by Hungarian students, plus the one or two children of Rumanian functionaries assigned to the village. (ibid.)

At the University of Kolozsvár, the traditional practice of pairing modern languages such as English and French with Hungarian in teacher education was ended.

Applicants for such studies were automatically assigned to study Hungarian-Rumanian; the aim is to settle such graduates in Rumanian areas, and at the same time to deprive the Hungarian minority of its intellectuals (HPT Release No. 85/1985).

Often, programs for Hungarians are simply terminated. The Kolozsvár Hungarian Music School last fall halted Hungarian classes at the lower level (HPT Release No. 84/1985). At the Groza Lyceum, a Hungarian textile industry class was simply discontinued (HPT Release No. 102/1985). When parents protest such adverse changes, they run the risk of detention and interrogation by the police (HPT Release No. 52/1985).

The anti-Hungarian drive is noticeable at leadership levels. The number of Hungarian education administrators is being reduced, both in public schools and adult education, and is replaced by Rumanian ones. For example, in the 80% Hungarian-populated Hargita County nearly all education leaders were replaced by Rumanians. At the 95% Hungarian Odorheiu-Secuiesc (Székelyudvarhely), the knowledgeable and enthusiastic Gyula Szép was replaced by a Rumanian national. For the Hungarian minority, even "numerus clausus" is of the past, and "numerus nullus" is the grim actuality (HPT Release No. 102/1985).

Minorities have traditionally been underrepresented in any state or party organ having an effective role in matters affecting their own interests. In the most recent elections to the showcase Grand National Assembly, even the semblance of proportional representation was eliminated by Ceausescu-style gerrymandering. Minority deputies not only lost seats but were allowed to run as candidates as a rule in areas not populated by their own ethnic groups. (Radio Free Europe Situation Report, No. 8/1985, May 14, 1985 pp. 3-4)

APPENDIX

Resolution on
Minority Oppression in Rumania
Proposed by the PEN American Center
and Adopted in Substance at the Meeting of the
International PEN Assembly of Delegates
Held in New York on January 14, 1986

Noting the ideal that literature should remain common currency between nations in spite of political passions,

Regretting that the government of Rumania systematically has been forcing the assimilation of its ethnic minorities, including over a quarter million ethnic Germans and over two million ethnic Hungarians, by having closed down the ethnic Hungarian publication Ellenpontok and having arrested its editors Attila Ara-Kovács, Károly Tóth and Géza Szőcs; by hindering the importation and sale of Hungarian newspapers and periodicals; by refusing to allow Rumanian libraries to accept gifts from Hungary; by refusing to allow imports of non-children's books in the Hungarian language; by forcing university students to take entrance exams in a language other than their native language; by ruling that all geography and history teachers must be ethnic Rumanian; by assigning Hungarian-speaking professionals to regions outside their own ethnic communities; by forbidding non-family visitors to stay in private homes; by interrogating all hosts of even temporary foreign visitors to the Hungarian regions of Rumania; by terminating all Hungarian television and radio programs; by threatening the continued survival of Kriterion, the last publishing house in Rumania still issuing works in the minority languages; and by closing down Művelődés, one of the last Hungarian-language magazines;

Recalling the ideals of the International PEN Charter, which stands for good understanding and mutual respect between nations and for an end to race, class and national hatreds;

Calls upon the Rumanian government to stop its perpetual harassment and systematic destruction of Hungarian and other ethnic cultures in Rumania.

Declaration by Participants of the 48th International PEN Congress Held in New York, January 11-19, 1986

The theme of the 48th International PEN Congress was "The Writer's Imagination and the Imagination of the State." Even as we grappled with the subject, states around the world continued to express their imaginations in concrete action. Of the many facts which came to light during the proceedings, two cases are of particular concern to us. Both involve the death of an individual in Rumania, and news of each reached us here.

Gheorghe Ursu, a Rumanian engineer and poet, was engaged in the most natural of literary endeavors -- keeping a diary -- where he recorded, among others, thoughts and poems critical of the regime. During the latter part of 1985, the Rumanian secret police searched his home, confiscated his diary, arrested and took him away. No news was received concerning his whereabouts until a telephone call to his wife, informing her: "You are a widow. You can come to pick up his remains."

Árpád Visky -- a foremost actor and cultural figure of Rumania's 2.5 million strong Hungarian minority -- on January 5, 1986 was found dead by hanging in a forest outside the Transylvanian town of Sfintul Gheorghe (in Hungarian: Sepsiszentgyörgy). Following a lengthy imprisonment on political charges, he had been granted amnesty on September 7, 1984 but was banned from appearing on any stage in Rumania. Constrained to work as an unskilled laborer, Visky applied to emigrate to Hungary. During the weeks prior to his death, Visky complained of official efforts to hinder his emigration, telling his relatives and friends: "I know too much. What they fear is that once I'm out, I'll tell all about the torture, the harassment and intimidation, the humiliation..." According to relatives of the deceased, and the medical report of his death, Visky's body was found by a policeman, minutes after the onset of death. Friends and relatives said the tragedy was totally unexpected, and the circumstances highly suspect.

We deplore both incidents and call upon the Rumanian government to allow an impartial, on-site inquiry into the causes of each death by an internationally recognized human rights group.

[The Declaration was signed by 217 writers
as of February 21, 1986,
including those listed on the following page.]

[Prominent writers who signed the PEN Declaration
Protesting Deaths in Rumania
included the following:]

United States
Edward Albee
Stanislaw Baranczak
Donald Barthelme
Robert L. Bernstein
Arthur A. Cohen
E. L. Doctorow
Carolyn Forche
Richard Gilman
Allen Ginsberg
Karen Kennerley
Jerzy Kosinski
Norman Mailer
Bernard Malamud
Czeslaw Milosz
Grace Paley
Kirkpatrick Sale
John Simon
Susan Sontag
Robert Stone
Rose Styron
Sydney Sulkin
Gay Talese
Piri Thomas
Alvin Toffler
Martin Tucker
Dorin Tudoran
Kurt Vonnegut

Canada
Louise Gareau des Bois
June Callwood
Robertson Davies

West Germany
Hans Cristoph Buch
Hans-Magnus Enzensberger
Gunter Grass
Gert Kalow
Zakov Lind

England
Francis Henry King
Michael Scammel

France
Breyten Breytenbach
Rene Tavernier

Italy
Pavia Mimy Rachel Piovene

Netherlands
Joost de Wit

Sweden
Per Wastberg

Finland
Nummi Lassi

Israel
Yehuda Amichai
Amos Oz

South Africa
Nadine Gordimer

Hungary
Sandor Csoori
Gyorgy Konrad

Poland
Ryszard Kapuscinski
Adam Zagajewski

Yugoslavia
Meto Jovanovski
Danilo Kis

Excerpts from
Letter of Géza Szőcs,
Transylvanian-Hungarian Poet,
to the Budapest Cultural Forum,
October-November, 1985

Dear Friends,

My own situation as a Hungarian writer in Rumania is unique in several respects. On numerous occasions between 1982 and 1985, I recorded my views concerning minority and human rights in Rumania. Some of these proposals were more radical, others were less so. Some were formulated in terms of international law and were addressed to prestigious international organizations, while others were phrased in poetic terms and were directed at the consciousness of the individual, his historical and moral sense. I am committed to a spirit of internationalism where minorities do not comprise a heavy burden, but have the promise of a brighter future...

The writer has to go on writing even if he feels he is the most solitary singer. Even if he has no paper on which to write (when, after the recurring house-searches, there is not a single sheet of paper left in the house), and even if he spends 8 to 10 hours in the interrogation room, where his most private letters are read out to him with gleeful cynicism. Even if he has lost his job, his friends and his opportunities to publish. Even if he does not have a single private moment, or one private place where he is not watched. In his artificial vacuum he is never alone, he knows. Yet he also knows that this social vacuum surrounding him is artificially produced, and does not penetrate the spiritual realms of the real nation. He has no choice then, but to go on writing.

With all my ambition and will I have tried to pursue the possibilities of a Hungarian culture and national identity which would unite -- which would have to unite -- every Hungarian in spirit, even if Hungary itself were divided among sixteen different states. Borders and governments may change -- as they do indeed -- but national consciousness does not. It cannot, since the nation is something different and something more than an administrative unit. The Jews remained a nation with a homeland for several thousand years, even when they had no country to call their own. They have a country today, because -- throughout thousands of years -- they never ceased to be a nation in spirit. Similarly, the Poles remained the Polish nation even when there was no Poland. I am not saying it makes no difference whether a nation lives within its own country or not, whether it is divided or not, or whether its country is large and prosperous or not. But I insist that these questions are of secondary importance, coming after the question of how large and prosperous this nation is in the minds of those who belong to it. The nation exists in the spiritual and in the ideal, and ideas cannot be divided or rearranged. Such borders cannot be readjusted by treaties or negotiations. The spiritual gepography of a nation is not a matter of political decisions, it is primarily a place in the heart.

Such a nation cannot be invaded, but neither does it comprise a threat to other nations. The spiritual homeland cannot be taken by force, it can only be given up. And here the writer's job is of tremendous importance: to guard the spirit and to prevent this giving up. It is his duty to struggle for the right of all persons to such a homeland: Rumanians, Hungarians, Kurds, Palestinians, Jews and Basques alike. The time will come, I trust, when every nation can live freely in its spiritual homeland. It will be a time to organize a similar conference -- another forum, where I too can participate.

With regards,

between two house searches,

Géza Szőcs

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 20, 1985

The Romanian Example

You never know what Romania might do next. Even before Secretary of State George Shultz could catch his breath on his return from those East European countries that in some way have dared to deviate from Soviet policy, President Ceausescu called for closer collaboration between his army and Warsaw Pact forces.

The maneuver should hardly encourage those Americans who, with the best of intentions, have tried to woo Romania away from the Soviet orbit. One such person is Mr. Shultz, who, among other gestures, pleaded in Bucharest last weekend on behalf of behumbled or outlawed religious communities and persecuted minorities.

Mr. Shultz found himself—in effect, if not intent—calling on Mr. Ceausescu for help with the State Department's problems back in Washington. Noisy evangelicals and groups watching the human-rights and minority situations in Romania have convinced enough members of Congress of Romania's uncivilized behavior to threaten more than Bucharest's soft treatment by Washington. They are successfully calling into question the basic State Department policy of "differentiation" in Eastern Europe, whereby the U.S. tries to drive a wedge between the Soviet Union and its satellites.

After 25 years that policy has yet to bag a single trophy. In the case of Romania it did, however, cause the U.S. to look the other way while Mr. Ceausescu launched an unworkable, even suicidal industrialization program that demanded inhumane sacrifices from its people. Romania faces another winter of severe fuel shortages, which may account for its new efforts to mend fences with the energy-producing Soviets.

A measure sponsored by Republican Steven Symms of Idaho and accepted by the Senate unanimously last month reflects a growing sentiment to invoke the Jackson-Vanik amendment to withdraw Romania's most-favored-nation trade privileges in response to its human-rights abuses. It lists examples of religious-rights violations in Romania, such as murder, torture, arbitrary detention of people, and desecration and destruction of churches; it also covers "denationalization," aimed primarily at non-Soviet Europe's largest minority group, the 2.5 million ethnic Hungarians in Romania, who face limits on education, confiscation of baptismal and historical records, job discrimination and forced resettlement.

Romania has tried all sorts of cheap tricks, such as straying now and again from Moscow's foreign-policy line, to avoid being called to account. But the time has come to tell Bucharest the jig is up. Romania would be a useful country to make an example of as General Secretary Gorbachev plots his own campaign to win more U.S. trade and credit with no change at all in Soviet behavior.

THE TORONTO STAR

AUGUST 11, 1985

Hungarians struggling for a place to stand in Romania

By Lucy Komisar
Special to The Star

Romania

BUCHAREST — It is a protest unusual for Romania, which is considered to have the least freedom of the East European states.

Twenty-five Hungarian graduates of Cluj University who had specialized in the study of their own language objected to university officials after none was assigned to jobs teaching Hungarian or located in Transylvania, the region where most of the Hungarian minority lives.

A Hungarian intellectual here who provided details of the incident said the students insisted they would not accept their assigned jobs, but the administration refused to accept their protest.

If the students do not take the jobs in the fall, their degrees will lose their validity and they will be required to pay the equivalent of about three months salary for their education.

The intellectual, who would not be quoted by name for fear of losing his job, said the Romanian government's goal was to reduce the strength of Hungarian consciousness and cultural identity, and to integrate the Hungarian population of more than 2 million with the 21 million Romanian majority.

"The young people, the intellectuals, are displaced outside Transylvania," he said. The result is also a lack of Hungarian teachers for Hungarian schools.

Flora Tuiu, a spokesman for the Romanian government, said the alleged protest was "impossible. We don't know anything about it and we don't believe it. It is unbelievable in Romania — maybe in another country, but not in Romania."

The incident could not be independently confirmed, but other changes in the government's minority policy are consistent with the intellectual's claim.

As of July, students can no longer take university entrance exams in their maternal languages. That is expected to discourage students from taking high school studies in Hungarian since that would put them at a disadvantage in competing for the limited number of places in the universities. There are 300,000 ethnic Germans in Romania.

Tuiu denies students have ever had the right to take entrance exams to Romanian universities in other languages.

"Our last remaining autonomy in a very limited sense is the school system," said the Hungarian intellectual. However, the government has by steps been dismantling the Hungarian education system.

Hungarian grade schools and high schools are disappearing. If there are not 19 Hungarians to make a class, it is conducted in Romanian even if the majority of students are Hungarian.

Neighboring Hungary has an interest in promoting the rights of the Hungarian minority, but though an agreement between the two countries allows shipment of a large number of books printed in Hungary into the country, not many get in. Tuiu said: "The import of books is like the import of butter" — in other words, the country's economic difficulties were to blame.

But the intellectual said there was evidence of other motives. He said editors in Hungarian publishing house in Bucharest cannot accept books about the cultural history of the Hungarians in Transylvania unless the topic is presented with a clear connection to Romanian cultural history. Translyvania was part of the Austro-Hungarian empire until 1918.

The situation for Hungarian culture appears to have gotten worse in the past few years. The government two years ago changed the editors of the weekly Hungarian newspaper, installing people whom Hungarian intellectuals feel are without autonomy or proper cultural qualifications.

In both the cases of the entrance exams and the newspaper, the government did not abolish the Hungarian institutions, but took steps that made them ineffective.

When the government cut television broadcasting from 10 to two hours a day last winter to save electricity at a time of severe energy problems, it ended the Hungarian and German broadcasts.

It also dissolved the regional radio stations, including three stations that offered Hungarian and German programs.

Although the Hungarian government is concerned about the treatment of the Hungarian minority in Romania, a Hungarian official in the Budapest foreign ministry indicated the government had not had success in its attempts to promote their interests.

☐ **Lucy Komisar** is a Star correspondent based in New York

[redacted]

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

THURSDAY, AUGUST 1, 1985

INTERNATIONAL

Hungary alleges Romanian rights abuses

Budapest voices concerns about its ethnic minority in Romania

By Eric Bourne
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

Budapest

On the eve of the Helsinki human-rights anniversary, a provincial Hungarian newspaper gave a brisk stir to the long-smoldering dispute between two communist neighbors and allies over Hungary's big Magyar minority in northern Romania.

In a distinct break with the quiet diplomacy through which Hungary has previously pursued the issue, the newspaper published detailed accounts of harassment by Romanian border guards of Hungarians going to visit family and friends in Transylvania, for centuries part of the old Hungarian kingdom and still the habitat of some 2 million ethnic Hungarians.

Naplo ("Diary") gave instances of "unreasonable delays" imposed on Hungarians this summer who were seeking to enter Romania at the crossing point at Artand. Many of the complaints, it was said, were authenticated by people who had been held at the border for nine hours.

Ceausescu: no ethnic problems in Romania

Many Hungarians whose baggage contained guidebooks to Transylvania, or Hungarian literary works on the region, indigenous Hungarian newspapers and magazines were refused entry, the newspaper said. Goods intended by the Hungarians as gifts for relatives were often confiscated and sometimes fines were imposed for alleged contraventions of customs regulations. One man was denied entry and fined 2,000 lei ($140 at the official exchange rate) for having a pair of blue jeans and a quantity of plastic bags, all of which were seized.

Rigorous Romanian controls on visiting Hungarians have been standard practice for many years. Previously, however, the guards seemed to have been satisfied with the confiscation of Hungarian printed material or books by Hungarian writers dealing with Transylvania's complicated historical background.

But since last year Western travelers passing through the Artand border point have noted increasingly arrogant Romanian treatment of the numerous Hungarians who flock to the region each summer.

Through the 1970s, Budapest kept the issue discreetly under the rug in an effort to avert the appearance of an open rift between Soviet-bloc allies. But leading Hungarian intellectuals, in defiance of official taboos, began to write openly on the subject, and this gradually compelled the government to raise the question in a series of tough diplomatic exchanges during official visits in both capitals.

For several years, the Romanians have refused to acknowledge the existence of minorities in Romania, either the Hungarian community (the largest miniority group in Europe) or the Germans, of whom there are several hundred thousand in Romania.

President Nicolae Ceausescu's standard answer is that the minority question has been settled for good — "on the basis of Marxism-Leninism" — and that his country is a unified one with only Romanians within its borders. Some, he says, are of ethnic German or ethnic Hungarian origin, but nevertheless they are all Romanians.

To this Budapest retorts that Vladimir Lenin's "nationality policy" called on the majority within a country to ensure preservation of minority culture and language.

And this, says Budapest, is constantly and increasingly flouted by the Romanian authorities, specifically:

- In education, by reducing the number of students allowed to attend Hungarian schools and exposing Hungarian children only to Romanian versions of Transylvanian history.
- In jobs, by transfering Hungarians to work in purely Romanian regions and by hiring Romanians in preference to equally qualified Hungarians.
- In the news media, by removing Hungarian personnel, who are seen as opponents of censorship and other restraints on Hungarian-language newspapers and television programs.

In 1977, the two countries agreed to open consulates: the Romanian office in Debrecen (not far from the border), and the Hungarian consulate in Cluj, the capital of Transylvania.

But the Romanians closed their mission last year. Earlier they had suspended their participation in a two-way coach service between the two countries. When the Hungarians continued to operate their buses, Romania intervened to halt the service altogether.

Conversations here confirm that the minority is not only a government concern, but a subject of deep feeling on the part of the ordinary Hungarian in the street.

PREPARED STATEMENT OF REV. JEFFREY A. COLLINS

Mr. Chairman and Distinguished Members of the Committee on Foreign Relations:

Thank you for permitting me to appear before you today. Your interest in the present problems facing Romanian Christians is greatly appreciated.

At this very moment in Romania Christians are in prison for distributing Bibles and Christian literature and for fulfilling their ministry obligations to their churches. During the last few years legal shipments of Bibles have been recycled into toilet paper. Christian laymen and ministers have been severely beaten by the Romanian security police. (Several, including the Catholic priest Father Geza Palfy, have died during or after such beatings.) And many churches (Orthodox, Baptist, Reformed, Pentecostal, Seventh-day Adventist, Brethren) and others have been bulldozed or otherwise demolished by the government.

Does this type behavior deserve to be rewarded by the freedom-loving peoples of the United States? Should Romania have preferential trade status? Should we economically assist and thereby maintain in power such a barbaric society?

It is with great reluctance that Christian Response International (CRI) has come to the conclusion that in order to increase religious freedom in the Socialist Republic of Romania, it is necessary to request the suspension of Most-Favored-Nation trade status for that nation. CRI staff have spent many agonizing hours laboring to communicate directly and forthrightly with Romanian embassy officials here in Washington. CRI has gone to the trouble of organizing two joint U.S. Congressional/British Parliament goodwill missions to Romania and a number of other trips involving attorneys, ministers, and state legislators. The purpose of the trips was to meet with persecuted Romanian believers and to intervene diplomatically on their behalf with the leaders of that country. It was our desire to communicate effectively through dialogue our concern for our persecuted brothers and sisters in that nation. However, it appears that our pleas have fallen on deaf ears.

We now turn to the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives requesting action be taken to suspend Romania's MFN status. We urge passage of the Trible/Armstrong Bill S-1817 and the Smith/Hall/Wolf Bill HR-3599. Let me say that this is not the worse thing that could happen to Romania under these circumstances. We could call for the complete elimination of MFN or a total ban on trade with that country. We believe, though, that a six-month suspension will bring about the desired results--that is that Romania will learn to treat its own citizens with human decency according to the United Nations Declaration on Human Rights and the Final Act of the Helsinki Agreement. Thus, religious freedom in Romania will be greatly enlarged. We believe that Christian prisoners of conscience like the Baptist layleader Constantin Sfatcu and the Adventist layleader Dorel Catarama will be released from prison. We believe that churches like Bistrita Baptist Church, Blaj Baptist Church, and others will be rebuilt.

It is sad that the government of a great nation like Romania would have to be coerced into respecting the rights of its people. It would certainly be a sad indicment, however, of our own country should we choose to continue preferential trade status for nations that imprison, torture and murder Christians while bulldozing churches and turning Bibles into toilet paper.

Christian Response International urges immediate passage of S-1817 and HR-3599 to insure a brighter future for the people of Romania and a greater friendship between the Romanian and American peoples--a friendship based on respect for individual rights and religious freedom.

A listing of what CRI considers to be the most urgent human rights cases in Romania today follows:

CHRISTIAN RESPONSE INTERNATIONAL
Box 24042
Washington, DC 20024

Phone: 984-9707

Report Date: 2/26/86

MOST URGENT RELIGIOUS RIGHTS CASES IN THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ROMANIA:

CHRISTIAN PRISONERS OF CONSCIENCE:

(1) Constantin Sfatcu: Sfatcu, a Baptist layleader, was arrested April 19, 1985, in the town of his residence Iasi, Romania. He was found driving a car with more than 600 Bibles and pieces of Christian literature. In August 1985, Constantin was sentenced to 7 1/2 years at hard labor for the "attempted murder of a police officer." (CRI has conducted two fact-finding missions to Romania since Sfatcu's April arrest. No evidence has been found to substantiate such a charge. All evidence indicates that Sfatcu was arrested only because he had illegal religious literature in his possession. On September 27, 1985, Sfatcu's case was appealed to the Romanian Supreme Court in Bucharest. Upon the recommendation of state prosecutors, the charge of attempted murder was dropped for lack of evidence. New and less serious charges were instated against Sfatcu on October 7. He was then sentenced without due process to 4 1/2 years in prison. During January, 1986, visitation rights and food parcel delivery were suspended for Sfatcu.

(2) Dorel Catarama: A Seventh-day Adventist, Catarama is a resident of Oituz, Romania. Catarama was convicted of stealing from his factory and was sentenced in August, 1982, to 10 years in prison. (This was done even though the Romanian secret police knew that Catarama's employer and fellow workers had signed written declarations about his honesty.) CRI and Amnesty International feel the real reason for Catarama's sentence was his religious activity. In 1983 Catarama's sentence was increased to 14 years in prison. Reports from CRI contacts inside Romania indicate that Catarama has undergone unimaginable mental duress and torture since first being arreste. Romanian Embassy First Secretary Traian Stambert phoned Catarama's family (now in Chicago) to request $75,000 (US) in order to arrange his release. The money was to be delivered to the embassy in cash!

(3) Ilie Neamtu: Neamtu is a layleader with the Ploesti Brethren Church. He was ordered to not preach. On June 30, 1985, he preached to his congregation: he disappeared on July 1, 1985. No one new his whereabouts until late in January 1986. Neamtu has been charged with "embezzlement" from his factory. Christians in Ploesti say that the police have presented no evidence to support the charges. Neamtu's next court appearance is scheduled for March 5, 1986.

(4) *Four Brethren Layleaders*: In July, 1985, four layleaders from the Open Brethren Church were arrested for "illegally distributing" Bibles. On September 13 Nicula Levi, Cornel Mich and Elisei Ruse were sentenced to "one year socialist labor at a socialist labor institution without pay." Ilie Dociu was sentenced to 10 months "socialist labor without pay" for "attempted illegal distribution" of Bibles.

STATE DEMOLITON OF CHURCHES:

(5) *Bistrita Baptist Church*: On November 3, 1984, Bistrita Baptist Church, Bistrita, Romania, was demolished by the Romanian government. On December 13, 1984, U.S. Rep. Mark Siljander (R/MI), Members of the British Parliament David Atkinson (Conservative) and Thomas Clarke (Labor) and CRI Executive Director Rev. Jeffrey A. Collins led a religious service along with other congressional and White House staffers and more than 300 Romanian Baptist believers. The American/British delegation saw for themselves the ruins of Bistrita Baptist Church. The relgious service lasted three hours. The next day the CRI delegation pleaded with Romanian officials in Bistrita and the district city of Cluj to rebuild Bistrita Baptist Church. At that time they assured the group that the rebuilding would begin by April, 1985. So far no building permit has been issued.

(6) *Giulesti Baptist Church*: This Baptist church, located in suburban Bucharest, was 50 percent demolished on June 4, 1985. Jus one month prior to the demoliton of the church, the congregation was visited by a CRI delegation including CRI/US board president Kentucky State Senator Gene Huff and Rev. Jeffrey Collins. Church leaders explained that they had attempted for several years to get a proper building permit to enlarge their facility, but their requests had fallen on deaf ears. Out of frustration the church began building to facilitate the hundreds who attended Sunday services. The government response was to level most of the building and then to torture the architect and deacon and order the pastor Rev. Buni Cocar out of town. On July 1, 1985, Rev. Jeff Collins along with U.S. Reps. Frank Wolf (R/VA), Tony Hall (D/OH) and Chris Smith (R/NJ) spoke on the ruins of Giulesti Baptist Church. A TV camera crew from the "700 Club" filmed the service.

(7) *Tiganesti Baptist Church*: This Baptist Church is located on the outskirts of Alexandria southwest of Bucharest. The building was totally destroyed in the 1977 earthquakel. The congregation has been unable to get a permit to rebuild, even though the congregation is willing to supply building materials and labor to do so. They presently meet in a tent (recently upgraded to a rickety lean-to) in subfreezing temperatures.

Other major church demolitons during the past 4 years:

(8) Blaj Baptist Church

(9) Tirgu Mures Pentecostal Church

(10) Medias Pentecostal Church

(11) Cimpea Turzii Pentecostal Church

NON-RECOGNITION OF RELIGIOUS GROUPS:

(12) The Uniate Catholic Church: Since the Communist Revolution this church, while still recognized by Rome, does not have legal status in Romania. All priests and nuns have been forced underground. Many have died while undergoing torture.

(13) The Church of the Nazarene: An evangelical denomination widely accepted in the United States has not been given legal status in Romania. The membership in Romania is discrimated against in areas of education, housing and employment.

FRONT PAGE

The New York Times

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 4, 1985

U. S. Says Rumanians May Lose Trade Benefits Over Rights Issue

By BERNARD GWERTZMAN

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Dec. 3 — The Reagan Administration intends to warn Rumania that it is in jeopardy of losing its benefits in trade with the United States if it does not improve its human rights record, State Department officials said today.

They said that Secretary of State George P. Shultz, on a visit to Bucharest on Dec. 15, would advise the Rumanians that, unless they met American concerns, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to extend Rumania's most-favored-nation tariff status.

A State Department official said of Mr. Shultz's trip, "Even though the visit is a short one, I think it is an important one, and perhaps a watershed visit."

Hungary Also on Itinerary

Mr. Shultz will also visit Hungary and Yugoslavia on the trip, which will follow a meeting of foreign ministers of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization next week.

Of the Soviet bloc countries, only Rumania and Hungary receive most-favored-nation treatment, which allows goods to enter the United States at the lowest applicable tariffs.

Trade between the United States and Rumania rose from $738.4 million in 1983 to $1.2 billion last year, a record high. There is a large surplus in Rumania's favor, with Rumanian exports last year amounting to $974 million. Most of this was in petroleum products.

Rumania also values having the beneficial tariff status for political reasons, since it underscores its relative independence in the Soviet bloc. State Department officials said Mr. Shultz would emphasize continued American appreciation for Rumania's foreign policy while underscoring concerns about human rights.

A State Department official said: "I think M.F.N. is in trouble for Rumania. It is very important that the Rumanians listen carefully and understand the situation they are in with regard to M.F.N. extension next year. There are very powerful efforts to have it repealed. In the absence of some evidence that the Rumanians are making progress in these concerns, it will be difficult."

The Rumanians were afforded the beneficial tariff treatment in 1975 because they were often at odds with the Soviet Union in foreign policy. Alone of the Warsaw Pact nations, Rumania did not sever diplomatic ties with Israel in 1967. Throughout the Soviet-Chinese dispute, Rumania maintained good relations with China. In addition, Rumania eased restrictions on emigration.

But, in recent years, there has been concern among Christian groups in the United States that the Rumanian Government harasses Christian faiths that are not officially sanctioned.

On Nov. 1, the Senate passed, without dissent, a sense-of-the-Senate resolution, sponsored by Senator Steven D. Symms, Republican of Idaho, that accused Rumania of "contempt of religious freedom and the repression of national minorities." Two bills are pending, one in the House, and one in the Senate, to suspend tariff benefits until Rumania improves its rights record.

Ads on Washington Buses

The Christian Response International, a group with headquarters in Zurich, has taken members of Congress to Rumania to acquaint them with cases of churches being bulldozed and of churchmen being imprisoned. Kay Drew, deputy director of the group, said it had placed advertisements on the backs of Washington buses saying: "Rumania cries for religious freedom. They need your help."

Today, the State Department made public its semi-annual report to Congress on compliance by Soviet-bloc countries with provisions of the 1975 Helsinki agreement. The report said Rumania's observance of human rights "continues to be poor."

The report said that religious activity was permitted only for the 14 faiths recognized by the Government. They include Rumanian Orthodox, Roman Catholics, Hungarian Reformed, Unitarians, Lutherans, Baptists, Pentecostals, Seventh-day Adventists and Jews.

"Attempts to gather for worship by members of other faiths are treated as illegal assemblies, with participants sometimes arrested and fined," the report said. The illegal faiths are the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, the Nazarenes and Jehovah's Witnesses as well as an unofficial Baptist group.

There have been several arrests, the report said, of Rumanians charged with importing Bibles. In the last six months, the report said, five persons were sentenced to terms ranging from ten months to seven years for offenses related to Bible smuggling.

There has been congressional testimony that thousands of Hungarian-language Bibles, intended for the Hungarian minority in Rumania, had been converted into toilet tissue.

The State Department report also accused Rumania of not providing ethnic minorities with opportunities for higher education in their own languages. Rumania has traditionally been among the most repressive countries in Eastern Europe.

So far, the United States has favored annual extension of the tariff benefits for Rumania on the ground that independence from the Soviet Union should be rewarded. Officials said that without the trade benefit, the United States would lack leverage on influencing developments in Rumania.

Officials said Rumania had been sensitive to American pressure. For instance, they noted that even though Rumania knew the visiting members of Congress were basically hostile, they were allowed to visit.

PREPARED STATEMENT OF REPRESENTATIVE TONY P. HALL

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Subcommittee, I am honored to appear before you today on the subject of Romania's Most Favored Nation status. I am grateful for the invitation to testify, and I wish to thank Senator Paul Trible for his help and interest in the participation of my House colleagues and me at this hearing.

For years, Romania has enjoyed the reputation of being one of the most independent countries of the Eastern Bloc. Its participation in the 1984 Olympics was hailed as an indication of this. As a result, Romania is considered somewhat open to the West and is one of the few Communist countries in the world to be granted our Most Favored Nation status.

Romania has been coasting on this undeserved "moderate" image for too long. Helsinki Watch has called Romania "one of the worst human rights offenders in Eastern Europe." It is time for the United States to face this reality and to start treating Romania like the human rights violator that it is.

In July of 1985, Congressman Chris Smith, Congressman Frank Wolf, and I went on a factfinding mission to Romania sponsored by Christian Response

International. We observed firsthand the persecution of religion and other human rights abuses.

Churches have been bulldozed, Bibles have been turned into toilet paper, and pastors and lay leaders have been jailed or heavily fined for preaching. Beatings and other forms of torture are given to religious prisoners of conscience. At great personal risk, individuals would come up to us, and as they shook our hands, they would press messages into our palms seeking help in emigration and assistance for their families who are in prison or being persecuted in other ways. We were deeply moved by the faith and courage of the Romanian believers.

Since July, my colleagues and I have brought to the attention of the Romanian government specific cases and specific issues where we hoped to see positive movement by that government. With the exception of the release and emigration of Father Calciu, the noted Romanian Orthodox priest, the Romanian government has not been responsive. In fact, the Romanian government never even answered a letter the three of us sent on July 16, 1985, and a follow-up telegram of September 12, 1985.

In view of the continuing reports of religious persecution and harassment, we concluded that a stronger reaction was needed. Therefore, on October 22, 1985, we introduced H.R. 3599, a bill to temporarily suspend MFN to Romania for six months. We are pleased that an identical bill, S. 1817, was introduced in the Senate on November 1, 1985, by Senator Trible and Senator Armstrong. Both Senators should be commended for their leadership and concern about religious freedom in Romania.

Under our bill, Romania would be placed "on probation" for six months. During this time, the Administration would assess whether progress was being made concerning religious freedom and human rights. Positive action on the part of the Romanian government would permit MFN to be restored. Our bill, therefore, would not provide for the permanent lifting of MFN.

It is not our intention to impose further suffering on the Romanian people; rather, we are hoping that use of the trade leverage our country has with Romania can help bring about improvements regarding religious rights and human rights. A temporary suspension of MFN is the best way to convey to that government that the United States will not conduct business as usual as long as religion is being persecuted in Romania. Since the Romanian government has no shame over its persecution of Christians, withdrawal of MFN may be the only way to get that government to realize that it is in its own best interest to permit true freedom of religion.

No nation can live in isolation from the world community. We are an interdependent world, and united world action against the immoral or inhuman policies of one nation can begin to move that country. We have been witnessing growing global outrage at the human rights violations in South Africa. A similar campaign of concern should be started against the repression in Romania.

Our legislation to temporarily suspend MFN is one part of this effort. This subcommittee is aware of the support in the Senate for S. 1817. There is similar support in the House for H.R. 3599, and it is growing. Those of us sponsoring this bill in the House intend to work hard for its enactment, unless significant, real improvements in respect for religious rights occur in Romania.

I commend this subcommittee for holding this timely hearing to explore the issue of human rights in Romania and to examine how U.S. policies can have an impact on greater freedom for the people of Romania. I believe that passage of S. 1817 would be the most effective way of using U.S. trade leverage to bring about improvements in human rights in Romania. I would also urge this subcommittee to study and recommend other action appropriate to its jurisdiction to bring pressure to bear on Romania regarding religious rights and other human rights. I hope you will join with us in a bipartisan, bicameral campaign to use the influence of the United States to bring religious freedom and respect for human rights to Romania.

PREPARED STATEMENT OF REPRESENTATIVE CHRISTOPHER H. SMITH

MR. CHAIRMAN, I certainly appreciate your giving me the opportunity to testify before this Subcommittee on European Affairs. Indeed, the granting of MFN status to Romania is in need of careful review by Congress, not only with respect to its effect on our relations with that country but also in the context of overall U.S. foreign policy. Our policy must reflect a consistent weighing of our trading partners' human and civil rights practices. I would like to commend you for holding this hearing to review the MFN status of Romania.

Romania has established a very unique situation for herself. While it is part of the Soviet bloc, a Warsaw Pact country, it has demonstrated its willingness and ability to digress from many hard-line international policies of the overshadowing Soviet Union. Although serious complications remain with respect to Romania's emigration procedures, Americans were encouraged by the release in July, 1985, of Father Gheorghe Calciu, a Romanian Orthodox priest who had been imprisoned for 20 years. Furthermore, Romania has been the only Warsaw Pact member state to maintain normal diplomatic relations with Israel, allowing more Jewish emigration than the USSR despite the great contrast in the numbers of those seeking to leave the country.

On the other hand, Mr. Chairman, having recognized the limited concessions made by the Romanian government, we must insist upon Romania's achievement record on current human rights practices. I believe that Romania's MFN status must rest on her progress in addressing the principles established in the Helsinki Accords--the standard by which Romania herself has agreed to concur. Otherwise, the granting of the MFN privilege is meaningless.

From an economic standpoint, the record is clear that the MFN status has aided Mr. Ceausescu's ability to strengthen his communist ideals in Romania through the financial and technological advantages offered by the West. In fact, as former deputy director of Romania's Department of Foreign Intelligence, Mr. Ion Pacepa, who was granted political asylum in this country in 1978, has said, Ceausescu "serves as a conduit for the transmission of embargoed Western technology to Moscow." Annual trade between our two countries is approximately $1.2 billion and, by a ratio of more than 4 to 1, the Romanians export more than they import.

In June, 1985, I travelled with my colleagues Mr. Hall and Mr. Wolf on a factfinding mission to Romania sponsored by Christian Response International. Having met with high Government leaders including Foreign Minister Stefan Andrei and religious leaders, including ~~[illegible]~~ the heads of faiths, I [illegible] we gained a better understanding of the human rights situation in that country. I am keenly aware of the systematic persecution and arrest of Christians, the bulldozing of churches in the name of "urban renewal" and "violations of building codes," and other repressive actions by the government.

Indeed, America's confidence in Romania's commitment to human rights is eroding. On the one hand, we note with joy the ~~extra~~ emigration ~~that since our return~~ of Father Calciu ~~has been permitted to emigrate~~ to the United States. [illegible] On the other hand, rather than moving toward easing of rights violations, Romania is cracking down.

Mr. Chairman: It is sad but true that the Romanian Government tolerates no domestic criticism, no opposition, no dissent from its policies. In the recently released 1985 State Department Country Reports on Human Rights document, the 1984 report is echoed saying that the Romanian government "continues to restrict and control the right to free speech, free assembly and association, and the practice of one's religion." Citizens are prohibited the right to assemble unless specific permission is granted by the Government. Of course, that permission is only secured when the Government has insured that the activity will serve the interests of the Communist Party. In addition, there are reports by groups such as Amnesty International that prisoners of conscience are subjected to beatings and psychiatric abuse.

It is for these reasons, Mr. Chairman, that Mr. Wolf, Mr. Hall and I have introduced H.R. 3599, a bill which currently has 75 cosponsors that would suspend MFN trade status for a 6-month period. I believe this mechanism provides a viable incentive for pressing the Romanian government to reevaluate its domestic policy and record on human rights. The leaders in Bucharest must come to recognize that the U.S. is only insisting that Romania keep its word as a signatory to the Helsinki Accords. Respect for human rights is not optional; it is fundamental, and is the only legitimate basis for genuine bilateral relations.

PREPARED STATEMENT OF REPRESENTATIVE FRANK R. WOLF

Mr. Chairman, I commend you and the subcommittee for holding these hearings on the situation in Romania. I am pleased to join my colleagues, Representative Chris Smith of New Jersey and Tony Hall of Ohio, today to testify regarding Romania. It is time we take a hard look at our foreign policies and how those policies can influence human rights guarantees.

Last year, I joined Congressmen Smith and Hall in a fact-finding trip to the Socialist Republic of Romania and was deeply disturbed by that experience. Illustrative of the extent to which these people are repressed was the degree to which they were so thrilled to see us -- total strangers -- but we were Americans and that, to them, promised some hope for their plight. As I walked through the crowds at the churches I visited, many of the townfolks would press up to me, and as they shook our hands, they would press pieces of paper into our palms which were pleas for help to get them out of the country.

The tragedy in those messages was underscored as we met with individuals who had been persecuted and tortured by the Romanian Government because of their religious beliefs and their desire to emigrate. We rejoiced last fall with the release and emigration of Father Gheorghe Calciu who had been imprisoned in Romania for a period totalling more than 21 years because of his Christian belief. But his suffering illustrates the human rights abuses in Romania. During his imprisonment he had been beaten repeatedly and was forced to beat more inmates. This was part of a "reeducation" prison and he was subsequently the only inmate spared death by firing squad.

For refusing to take a factory job and deny his priesthood, he was subjected to periods of 10 days each during which he was given no food, no water, no heat, and no clothes. At the end of those periods when convulsing violently, he would be given 2 days' worth of food and then put back on the 10 days of deprivation. This went on for 100 days. The Romanians wanted to keep him alive to break him. At the end of the 100 days, Calciu countered the Government's efforts by going on a hunger strike of his own. When his death appeared likely, the security forces admitted Calciu to a hospital -- again, they needed to keep him alive.

Father Calciu's situation is just one well-publicized example. I have also learned that in the cold of last winter, the Romanian Government turned off the heat in hospitals to save money and infants in incubators died as a result. The Government also refuses to acknowledge newborn children until they are 2 weeks old because the infant mortality rate is so high. In winter, they do not document births for 4 weeks after actual delivery.

While I was in Romania, I visited a church which had been destroyed by Government bulldozers. Since then I have learned that the engineer in charge of construction of the church not only lived through seeing the church demolished, but was arrested and interrogated. During the interrogation, he was put in a body press and squeezed until unconscious. When he came to, he was interrogated further and put in a rubber suit which was then filled with water. In it, he was beaten with a stick. The rubber suit filled with water kept any marks from appearing on his body although he again was beaten until unconscious. He was subsequently dumped by the police in an underground area of Bucharest. He later revived and managed to get home.

An elder at the same church was beaten on the soles of his feet with a rubber stick. Then, with his hands tied together, he was hung from rafters and the Government security forces continued to beat him. He was put into a "torture machine", an electrical black box of sorts where only his head was out. While questioning the elder, this black box would continuously punch different parts of the body.

I point out these examples to graphically and tragically illustrate what type of government we are supporting in allowing most-favored-nation trade status and renewing it year after year without question.

It's time we started to ask questions. I would like to include with my statement an article from the Washingtonian magazine written by the high-ranking Romanian intelligence defector Ion Pacepa. He has raised questions about the Romanian regime, which I believe deserve redress and review.

My colleagues and I have introduced legislation which underscores America's commitment to preserving human dignity and the rights of every person in this global family.

In 1979, just before his arrest, Father Calciu told a visitor from the West, "knowing people care makes what I've suffered worthwhile." We should heed the pleas of the Romanian people and demand that the Government of Romania lose MFN unless the violation of human rights in that country is brought to an end.

PREPARED STATEMENT OF REPRESENTATIVE GUS YATRON

There is growing concern among Members of Congress, as well as the international human rights community, over the severe repression that is increasingly characteristic of the Romanian Government's domestic policy. According to the Department of State's Country Reports on Human Rights Practices, and reports submitted to Congress by major human rights organizations, our concern is warranted. The Country Reports indicate that "the Communist Party seeks to control every significant aspect of the country's life." In view of Romania's abridgment of personal liberties and freedoms, it is necessary to review U.S. policy toward Romania.

Despite Romania's being a signatory to the Helsinki and Madrid agreements, and its guarantee of an impressive range of freedoms in its constitution, human rights violations continue unabated in this Eastern bloc country. Severe restrictions on freedom of speech, the denial of the right of peaceful association, and the limitations placed upon the freedom of religion cannot be overlooked by any person who values individual liberties. Nor can we feign blindness at the disparate treatment of the Hungarian minority in Romania. Further evidence of the psychological and physical intimidation leveled at the Romanian citizenry is demonstrated by thousands of arbitrary searches and detentions, denial of fair public trials, and deplorable prison conditions.

Those of us who try to help Romanians seeking to emigrate are aware of the serious procedural problems in Romania's emigration system. While our letters to Romanian officials on behalf of potential emigrees remain unanswered, our inquiries have not, nor will not, cease. I have written repeatedly to Romanian officials about individuals like Napoleon Fodor who are living in the U.S. alone, without their families, because Romania has breached its obligation to permit family reunification.

Romanians who dare to apply for exit visas are often subjected to Government harassment, as well as economic and social deprivation. These repressive measures may include demotion and expulsion from a place of work, forced retirements, false allegations and arrests, and monitoring correspondence and telephones.

As Chairman of the Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations, I believe the United States should be dedicated to maintaining a harmonious relationship between our country and Romania. We should be equally committed to preserving the human rights of individuals throughout the world. Romania is neglecting its responsibilities to its citizens by denying them their fundamental freedoms. When the Romanian Government violates international standards of human rights, its privilege of Most Favored Nations Trade Status should be reassessed.

We appeal to the Government of Romania to make significant improvements in human rights and adhere to the provisions set forth in the Helsinki Accords to insure a continuation in existing diplomatic and trade agreements between the United States and Romania.

I would like to commend the esteemed Chairman of the Subcommittee on European Affairs, Senator Pressler, for holding this very worthwhile hearing.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL MONDAY, JANUARY 13, 1986

Ceausescu: America's Most Favored Tyrant

By Ion Mihai Pacepa

For many Americans, Romania's Nicolae Ceausescu is the leader of the plucky little country that defied the Soviet boycott of the 1984 Olympic Games in Los Angeles. For the U.S. government, he presides over the communist country whose "most favored nation," or MFN, trade status should be renewed when it comes up for its annual review. In Washington's misguided view, MFN status can help improve human rights in Romania and encourage a degree of political independence from Moscow.

But for Mr. Ceausescu, the 1975 granting of MFN status crowned 10 years of intense propaganda and influence operations aimed at realizing his grand plan of strengthening Romanian communism by getting financial and technological help from capitalism.

Devotion to Stalinist Marxism

In October, Rep. Chris Smith (R., N.J.) and Sen. Paul Trible (R., Va.) introduced legislation that would deny Romania MFN status for six months. However, even this modest step is opposed by the State Department. In fact, during his visit last month to Romania, Secretary of State George Shultz said that "[The U.S.] would like to see trade [with Romania] flourish to the extent that it can. I believe that it can increase more in the future—and I hope it does."

Meanwhile, average Romanians—who receive few, if any, of the benefits of MFN status—face another bitter winter without adequate heat or light. The near-collapse of the Romanian economy has led to rumors that the Soviets would not at all mind if the army topped Mr. Ceausescu and installed a military government similar to the one that has run Poland since 1981. However, any such move is unlikely. For all of his economic bungling, Mr. Ceausescu still delivers valuable exports to the Soviet Union and serves as a conduit for the transmission of embargoed Western technology to Moscow.

Continuing to renew Romania's MFN status will not make that nation more independent of the Kremlin. Mr. Ceausescu's devotion to Stalinist Marxism is clear even to naive observers. I worked with him for many years, and the one thing I came to understand was that his position toward Moscow was never influenced by the U.S. Rather, it was primarily determined by the nature of his personal relationship with the Kremlin's top man. Yuri Andropov, whom I met, seemed to show less rigidity toward Mr. Ceausescu than Leonid Brezhnev had. Mikhail Gorbachev is apparently following the same policy.

According to recent reports, relations with Moscow are getting closer again, with a large Soviet presence once more in Romania. In addition, secret bilateral agreements with Moscow, such as those between the two intelligence services for the procurement of Western technology, are sacred obligations for Mr. Ceausescu.

Mr. Ceausescu's last visit to the U.S. in 1978 was used to set the stage for an attempt to develop and recruit President Carter's brother, Billy, as an agent of influence.

Human rights in Romania have been strangled since the granting of MFN status in 1975. The proportion of security personnel in the population has steadily increased over the years, reaching a ratio of 1:15—the world's highest—by the time of my break with Bucharest in 1978. Selective mail censorship was replaced in 1976 with total censorship, with every single letter and package from abroad being opened. In February 1977 a secret Communist Party decision approved the complete monitoring of all international telephone calls. At the same time, Mr. Ceausescu personally ordered that the only legally permissible telephone device to be used was one developed by the security police that can be instantly converted into a microphone to monitor people's private conversations.

During the mid-1970s electronic monitoring devices were secretly installed in every Roman Catholic church and Jewish synagogue. In March 1978 a top-secret decision by Mr. Ceausescu required that all but a few token Jews be quietly removed from the military and security forces as well as from sensitive posts in the party and government.

Bucharest's terrorism against the West has also increased substantially. In the mid-1970s there was a surge in the secret training given in Romania to Western communists, especially Spaniards and Greeks, in sabotage and other forms of guerrilla warfare. In 1975 the DIE, the Romanian foreign intelligence service, made secret agreements with Palestine Liberation Organization terrorists, providing them with significant logistical support and using them in operations against Romania's own political opponents in the West.

In 1975, only days after receiving MFN status, Romania had its DIE secretly kill three militant anti-communists in the West, one of whom, Vasile Zapartan, was a priest. The DIE later organized assassination attempts and savage beatings of emigres who had publicly criticized the cult of personality in Romania, using PLO terrorists in France in 1976 and criminal mercenaries in both West Germany in 1976 and France in 1977. In July 1978 I personally received the order to arrange unattributable assassinations of emigres working for the U.S. government in Radio Free Europe, and to bomb the radio's Munich headquarters (an action that finally took place in February 1981).

On July 28, 1981, Emil Georgescu, a senior editor at Radio Free Europe in Munich, was stabbed 22 times by criminals hired by Bucharest and barely escaped with his life. (He was one of the people I had been ordered to have killed.)

Nevertheless, Bucharest has always considered itself able to outwit Washington in obtaining the annual renewal of MFN. The only significant step I saw Mr. Ceausescu take to ensure the renewal was his August 1975 appointment of a permanent MFN task force, consisting of the minister of foreign affairs, the minister of interior, and the deputy chief of the DIE (at that time myself). Because the U.S. indicated that Romania's emigration policy was the key to MFN renewal, Mr. Ceausescu decided to maintain emigration from Romania (mostly Jews and ethnic Germans) at the minimum level but no higher. "We should make as much money as possible on our vanishing national resources—oil, Jews and Germans," he told the task force.

As part of the task force, the DIE was also responsible for selling the West on the myth of Mr. Ceausescu's domestic popularity and persuading the U.S. government to like Romania. The DIE paid for the Western publication of hundreds of articles and books about Mr. Ceausescu's accomplishments. It mounted successful operations to develop sources of influence at the U.S. Embassy in Bucharest and to exert pressure through agents and contacts in the U.S. It created and financed Romanian emigre organizations in the U.S., which paid for thousands of emigres to come periodically to Washington from all over the U.S. and Canada to demonstrate and lobby on Capitol Hill for MFN renewal.

Nor will the most recent renewal of MFN status improve U.S.-Romanian relations. Bucharest is now apparently pressing for a new official visit by Mr. Ceausescu to Washington, but its Oriental-rug-merchant approach to bilateral relations is entirely different from the American one. I personally was responsible for preparing Mr. Ceausescu's last visit to the U.S., in April 1978, and I also then accompanied him as a member of his official delegation.

Mr. Ceausescu assigned the visit a more pragmatic mission besides its political significance: setting the stage for the secret development and eventual recruitment of President Carter's brother, Billy. Because I broke with Bucharest shortly thereafter, the only tangible result of this planned operation was the Romanian commercial office opened in Atlanta as a first step.

Bucharest Outfoxes Washington

The tactic of recruiting close relatives of foreign heads of state is one in which Mr. Ceausescu excels. On one official visit to Iran, he himself spotted the corrupt brother of the late shah as a likely prospect, and in Syria he saw potential in the then-powerful brother of President Hafez Assad. Both were later recruited, royally rewarded by fat payments into Swiss bank accounts, and used for promoting Romanian political and economic interests. Perhaps someday another Romanian defector will tell us what Mr. Ceausescu's ulterior motive is for his next visit to Washington. In any case, we may be sure that he has more than the exchange of mutual compliments in mind.

Bucharest is successfully outfoxing Washington day after day. The U.S. now has 10 years' worth of proof that MFN does not produce the desired effect in Romania, and enough is enough. America must stop supporting a communist regime that is scornful of American democratic principles and hostile to U.S. interests.

Mr. Pacepa was the personal adviser to Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu and deputy director of the Romanian foreign intelligence service until July 1978, when he was granted political asylum in the U.S. He is the highest-ranking intelligence officer ever to defect to the West.

ROMANIA

RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

RESPECT FOR THE INTEGRITY OF THE PERSON, INCLUDING FREEDOM FROM:

Torture and Cruel, Inhuman, or Degrading Treatment or Punishment

In 1985 there have been a number of credible reports of torture. A Roman Catholic priest in western Romania was so severely beaten by DSS functionaries that he temporarily lost the use of his hands. A leading member of a religious group under heavy pressure from local authorities reportedly was detained and beaten over a period of some 16 hours, frequently losing consciousness. After release, the victim was examined by a physician and reportedly found to have suffered extensive internal injury. Amnesty International reported that in late 1984 a Baptist was arrested on suspicion of helping a relative emigrate illegally. The DSS searched his apartment and found religious literature. Amnesty International reported that while in detention the victim was hung by his wrists and beaten.

Romanian authorities reportedly also use physical and mental degradation to intimidate those caught or suspected of wrongdoing. Persons detained for questioning are often kept for long periods without sleep, food, or toilet facilities, as well as being held incommunicado. Numerous reports say those caught attempting to leave the country illegally, for example, are subject to extreme physical and mental harassment, often prior to being given only relatively light sentences if they are first offenders. Prisoners also report that, in the case of those who have received long sentences for political offenses, wives are sometimes pressured to divorce their spouses.

In its 1985 Report (covering the year 1984), Amnesty International stated that "prison conditions under which prisoners of conscience were held were reported to be harsh, with poor food, hygiene and medical care." The report claimed that, at the Calea Rahovei prison in Bucharest, prisoners were

> "shackled with handcuffs and leg-irons to a ring fixed into a concrete pyramid, approximately 40 centimetres high, in such a way that it was only possible for the prisoner to squat."

Among numerous other reports of cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment, the most common complaints concern cells which are badly ventilated and poorly heated, bad food in extremely small quantities, difficult working conditions, long periods of isolation, excessive use of force by guards, overcrowding, and segregation of persons deemed "dangerous to the State" because of religious belief or for other reasons. By law some Romanian convicts are not required to work; the State uses this provision to keep some prisoners effectively in solitary confinement, whereas others in this category, whom the State does not wish to segregate, reportedly are made to sign "voluntary" requests to be allowed to work.

Several cases of alleged incarceration of dissidents in psychiatric institutions were reported in 1985. Although corroboratory information has not been received, some independent evidence tends to support the allegations.

Arbitrary Arrest, Detention, or Exile

The scope of Romanian criminal law is broad enough to insure that persons coming under official scrutiny may be convicted of some offense. Examples of typical charges are "defaming the Socialist order" for speaking frankly to a foreigner; "disturbing the peace" or "illegal assembly" for private prayer meetings in the home; "social parasitism" if unemployed but technically guilty of no other offense; or "distributing literature without a license"—a felony—if found attempting to hand out free Bibles.

Freedom of Religion

Despite constitutional guarantees of religious freedom, the practice of religion in Romania continues to be closely controlled by the Government. The Communist Party advocates atheism, and religious activism by state officials and party members is strongly discouraged. The Department of Religious Affairs recognizes religious denominations, including Romanian Orthodox (the largest), Roman Catholic, Lutheran, Calvinist, Unitarian, Baptist, Pentecostal, Seventh-Day Adventist, Jewish, and Muslim. The 14 officially approved faiths encompass an estimated 95 percent of all Romanians claiming religious affiliation.

The Government, through the Department of Religious Affairs, subsidizes clerical salaries, issues licenses to preach, approves permits for church construction or renovation, establishes the number of new admissions to seminaries, and controls the importation or printing of religious materials, including Bibles.

Attempts by members of officially unrecognized faiths to gather for worship generally are treated by local authorities as "illegal assemblies" or "disturbing the peace," with participants arrested and fined. Among the denominations refused recognition by the Government are the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormons), the Nazarenes, and Jehovah's Witnesses. The latter two faiths were singled out for strong attacks in government periodicals in 1985.

The Romanian Orthodox Church has from historic times been able to coexist with a series of governments. It tends to accept government policy and did not, for example, take public issue with the authorities over the destruction of a number of churches and monasteries in 1985 which caused some public outcry. The church is believed, however, to have registered quiet objections which led to the physical relocation of several structures outside of the area of urban redevelopment plans. Government policy toward the Orthodox Church appears less restrictive than toward the more Evangelic congregations. Orthodox Church officials claim they are able to build churches as needed and have no pressing need for new churches, despite major urban and rural redevelopment programs which are causing a substantial percentage of the population to move into new high-rise apartment communities.

The remarkable growth of what the Government calls "neo-Protestant" denominations--Pentecostals, Evangelical Brethren, and especially the Baptists—has led to repeated confrontations with the Government during the last 15 years. Government animosity towards these groups is strengthened by their insistence on the primacy of religious belief over state authority in matters of conscience.

In what was seen as a positive step in 1985, the Government promised Baptist leaders additional badly needed seminary entry positions and building permits. So far, these promises remain substantially unfulfilled. The country's largest Baptist church in Oradea is scheduled for demolition in an urban renewal program but has been allowed to stand pending completion of a replacement. On the other hand, a Baptist church in Bistrita was partially demolished by the authorities in November, 1984, and has not been repaired. A Baptist church in Blaj was destroyed because of building code violations in October 1985, and a large Baptist church in Bucharest was substantially demolished during the summer for the same reason. A Baptist church in the village of Gaujani was confiscated in 1984 for use as a nursery school; the congregation has been unable to obtain either a replacement or compensation.

The Government in late 1984 permitted the consecration of the Administrator of Bucharest's Roman Catholic Archdiocese, Msgr. Ioan Robu, as a bishop. The Archdiocese had been without a prelate since the death of Archbishop Cisan in 1954. Government officials attended Bishop Robu's consecration in Rome, and a number of Catholic clergy were permitted to travel there for the ceremonies as well. The Government, however, continues to disagree with the Roman Catholic Church over the number of dioceses to be allowed in the country, and the church technically remains without an approved government charter. In 1985 Bucharest's largest Roman Catholic Church, St. Joseph's, was partially renovated inside, and a small, new Catholic church was consecrated in the resort town of Baile Tusnad.

The Government continues to support a widespread and active Jewish community organization throughout the country. Jewish cemeteries in Romania are typically well maintained; the organization runs some 11 kosher restaurants throughout the country. When city redevelopment plans threatened the smaller of two Jewish old people's homes in Bucharest in 1985, Jewish community leaders were able to gain government support for the construction, mostly with funds contributed by groups in the United States, of a new facility now nearing completion. Though current redevelopment work has destroyed a number of the Jewish organization's buildings in Bucharest, including former synagogues, the organization maintains that these buildings were no longer necessary. The organization's headquarters, the main ("Choral") synagogue, and the Jewish museum--all in the redevelopment area--have been left untouched. There have been no repetitions of the anti-Semitic literature which troubled relations in 1984 between the Government and the Jewish community. Jewish leaders are allowed to travel outside the country and do so frequently.

The apparent severe shortage of Bibles continue to lead some Romanians to risk harsh penalties for smuggling them into the country. In 1985 persons were convicted for offenses stemming from smuggling Bibles. Four of these, Evangelical Christians, were sentenced to penal work programs for about 1 year for "distributing literature without a license" when they attempted to give out Romanian-language Bibles. The Government has indicated, however, that it would be willing to permit the importation of Bibles, if a need were demonstrated which could not be met from within the country. Many religious leaders say privately that they need Bibles, but apparently no denomination has put forward a formal request for the import of Bibles. Various problems are said to have delayed implementation of a government offer, now some years outstanding, to have more Bibles printed locally for several Protestant faiths.

In what was perceived as a significant positive step, Father Gheorghe Calciu, a Romanian Orthodox priest imprisoned from 1979 to 1984 for sermons critical of the Government, was allowed to emigrate in July 1985. Upon his arrival in the West, Calciu told of several other prisoners of conscience who were in prison with him and presumably remain there for "offenses" similar to his own.

COUNTRY REPORTS ON HUMAN RIGHTS PRACTICES FOR 1984

REPORT

SUBMITTED TO THE

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
U.S. SENATE

AND

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS
U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

BY THE

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

IN ACCORDANCE WITH SECTIONS 116(d) AND 502B(b) OF THE
FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT OF 1961, AS AMENDED

FEBRUARY 1985

Printed for the use of the Committees on Foreign Relations and Foreign
Affairs of the Senate and the House of Representatives respectively

ROMANIA

Romania is a highly centralized Communist state in which the Romanian Communist Party, led since 1965 by the country's President, Nicolae Ceausescu, directs every significant aspect of the country's life. As a practical matter, local officials have varying degrees of latitude in the implementation of policy at the local level as well as room for abuse of power in violation of an array of Constitutional rights.

In the area of human rights, major discrepancies persist between Romania's Constitution, laws, public pronouncements, and international commitments on the one hand, and the civil liberties and human rights actually allowed by the regime on the other. Almost all aspects of life proceed within narrow bounds defined by authority without regard to constitutional and legal guarantees, although practices vary as a result of individual circumstances and attitudes of local officials. Political dissent is not tolerated; any appearance of deviation from the party's policies is actively repressed. Psychological and, to a lesser extent, physical intimidation by the ubiquitous security apparatus and other state organs is effective in securing conformity, although the costs in terms of individual liberties, creativity, and overall economic efficiency are apparent.

Although the Government officially maintains its "principled opposition" to emigration, it has allowed increasing numbers of departures, mainly under the rubric of "family reunification." Nearly 19,000 Romanians departed for the Federal Republic of Germany, the United States, and Israel in 1984. While Romania's numerical performance on emigration has greatly improved, serious problems remain in respect to procedures. Departures--whether for purposes of emigration, family reunification, or binational marriage--are strongly discouraged by complicated, slow-moving procedures and coercive tactics. Potential emigrants often wait several years after applying before receiving exit permits. During this period, dismissals from job or school, eviction from housing, denial of access to medical treatment, and other sanctions are common. Notwithstanding constitutional guarantees, the regime closely controls religious activities. Despite having subscribed to international agreements on human rights, the Romanian Government maintains the view that the country's human rights situation is a purely internal matter. With significant exceptions, however, the Government has facilitated private and semi-official factfinding visits, and has shown a willingness to discuss an increasing range of human rights issues.

Romania has made measured economic progress over the past four decades, evolving from a largely agricultural country to one with significant industrial resources. However, economic setbacks contributed to difficulties in meeting foreign debt payments in 1981-82. Drastic austerity measures have since significantly reduced the country's foreign debt, but at the cost of hardships for consumers brought about by severe cutbacks in supplies of electricity, fuel, and gasoline, reductions in imports of food supplies, drugs, and medical and other necessities. Rationing of many basic foodstuffs remains in force, although supplies appear to have stabilized somewhat in late 1984.

ROMANIA

RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

Section 1 Respect for the Integrity of the Person, Including Freedom from:

a. Political Killing

In mid-1984 there were persistent reports that an ethnic Hungarian Roman Catholic priest, Father Geza Palfi, had died as a result of injuries suffered during repeated beatings while he was in the custody of the Romanian secret police, allegedly for delivering a sermon critical of the Government. The reports were officially denied by the Romanian authorities, which maintain that Father Palfi died of cancer in April 1984 after having been hospitalized since autumn 1983. They deny that he had been incarcerated, beaten, or physically abused.

b. Disappearance

There have been no substantiated reports of politically motivated disappearances in 1984, although family and friends of persons arrested on political charges are frequently long left unaware of their circumstances and whereabouts.

c. Torture and Cruel, Inhuman, or Degrading Treatment or Punishment

There have been numerous reports of cruel and degrading treatment in Romanian prisons in 1984. The most common complaints concern cells which are badly ventilated and poorly heated, bad food in extremely small quantities, difficult working conditions, long periods of isolation, little or no reading materials, overcrowding, and segregation of persons deemed "dangerous to the state" because of their religious beliefs. Furthermore, persons convicted of political crimes are not allowed to work but are forced to spend their sentences within the confines of the prison, thus forgoing the possibility of reducing their sentences through work outside the prison. Acts of violence perpetrated by police authorities attempting to obtain information are commonly reported. Persons apprehended for illegally trying to cross the border often complain of cruel treatment, including beatings, inflicted during police custody. Persons detained for questioning are often kept for long periods without sleep, food, or toilet facilities.

d. Arbitrary Arrest, Detention, or Exile

As a result of the thousands of arbitrary searches of homes, cars, and other belongings (Section 1.f. below), numerous persons are detained every year for varying periods while investigations are carried out. There is no provision for habeas corpus, and persons have been kept for upwards of several days without being allowed to communicate with family or a lawyer. Most detainees are held for only a few hours and allowed to return to their homes before being reinterrogated on succeeding days.

Detention by the security police continues to be reported more often than arrests, particularly by political and religious dissidents. Individuals are usually summoned or taken to local local security offices where they are interrogated--often under rigorous conditions--and warned of penalties for their actions, with release after varying periods, frequently 2-4 days.

Although exile is not officially used as punishment, there have been unconfirmed reports that members of the large Gypsy minority have been escorted by police to the Romanian-Yugoslav border and told to leave the country immediately or face a prison sentence.

A form of "forced travel" has been used on occasion against Romania's religious activists to impede contacts between foreign religious rights activists and Romanian religious activists. On several occasions, the security police have moved Romanian activists from their domiciles for the duration of visits to the country by foreigners believed to be critical of the regime's record on religious rights.

e. Denial of Fair Public Trial

ere are numerous allegations that trials are fixed and isions are reached before the evidence is heard. An ..dicted person is considered guilty until proven innocent.

The majority of the trials in routine civil and criminal cases are open to the public and appear to follow legally prescribed procedures. By law, trials may also be held behind closed doors. Diplomats and other foreigners have had difficulty in attending public trials with high local or international interest.

The judiciary is not independent of the Communist Party and the Government, and defense attorneys, especially in political cases, are often not permitted to provide a full and proper defense for their clients.

It is impossible accurately to estimate the number of political prisoners in Romania. Including persons arrested and convicted on charges such as "parasitism" (i.e., not having visible legal means of support), illegal economic activities, trying to cross the borders of the country illegally, and demonstrating without permission or protesting against the social order, the number is at least several thousand. According to unconfirmed reports from one prison in the border city of Timisoara, more than 1,500 people in that facility are serving sentences for trying illegally to cross the frontier.

f. Arbitrary Interference with Privacy, Family, Home, or Correspondence

Romanian laws and regulations governing the security apparatus sanction an extremely high degree of interference with the individual. However, the push for total control and ervision is mitigated in daily life by the uneven .plication of regulations, which varies considerably from one locality to another, and by extensive corruption and bribery within the system.

Deliberate and arbitrary interference with the privacy of the family, home, and correspondence is a frequent occurrence. Searches are made of automobiles, apartments, private homes, persons, and personal effects, without search warrants or justification by the authorities that a crime may have been committed. Militia checkpoints are located on most roads leading out of the cities and at all major highway intersections in the countryside. Militiamen arbitrarily stop and search vehicles. There have been many reports of persons stopped on tram cars and city buses who have been asked for identity documents and have had shopping bags and personal belongings checked by the authorities.

The authorities often enter homes on the pretext of looking for building code violations, excessive consumption of electricity (60 watt bulbs maximum), illegal use of electrical appliances, etc. These searches also allow the authorities to look for other items such as forbidden books and publications, religious materials, or any evidence of "wrongdoing."

Rent codes in the cities tend to encourage another form of invasion of privacy: if an apartment tenant cannot afford to pay the exorbitant premium rental rate for any space in excess of the official 18-square meter maximum per person, the city housing authority may lease part of the dwelling to someone else without consulting the tenant.

Invasion of family privacy frequently takes place in the schools, where the children are asked about their parents' ideas, topics of evening discussions, visitors, etc. This information has reportedly been used against the parents when it has served the interest of the authorities. In addition, there are reports that the Communist Party has applied pressure on parents at their workplaces in order to influence the activities of their children.

Violation of privacy of the person has also become common as a result of the current anti-abortion campaign. Reports have been received of female workers forced to undergo monthly or bimonthly pregnancy tests and physical examinations to insure that an abortion has not taken place.

Complaints about interference with both domestic and international correspondence are common. Letters to or from persons considered "of interest" often simply never arrive at their destination. People have reportedly been questioned by the security police about topics discussed in letters which were delivered seemingly unopened. On other occasions, people have been questioned about statements made in letters sent abroad but never received by the addressee.

International telephone calls are monitored closely. Interruptions are common. Telephone conversations of Romanian religious and political dissidents are particularly monitored. Their calls are frequently cut off, and they are often interrogated by security police regarding telephone conversations. On occasion, the telephones of these persons are out of order while foreign visitors are in Romania and are restored to service upon the foreigner's departure.

Section 2 Respect for Civil Rights, Including:

a. Freedom of Speech and Press

Freedom of speech and press is severely restricted in Romania, despite a full range of constitutional guarantees. Opposition to established policies is not permitted, and perceived challenges to the system are usually dealt with harshly.

The Government and party control all information disseminated to the public. The government-owned mass media practice self-censorship. For live theater, censorship boards approve all new productions before the opening performance. All typewriters must be registered with the local police, and usage of duplicating machines is strictly regulated in an effort to prevent the establishment of an independent underground press.

Western publications are not available to the general public, and unauthorized import and distribution of such materials is forbidden. Foreign broadcasts in the Romanian language are not jammed, however, and serve as the major source of domestic and foreign news for the Romanian people.

b. Freedom of Peaceful Assembly and Association

The Government attempts to control all group activity in the country. No organization independent of government or party influence is allowed to exist. Assembly and association without permission are usually short-lived and may have severe rcussions for those involved. Citizens are strongly ouraged from making contact with foreigners, and the law requires that all such contacts be reported to the authorities within 24 hours.

Free trade unions are not permitted. Membership in government-controlled unions is mandatory for workers in every economic sector. Union meetings deal with problems such as work safety, productivity, fulfillment of the production plan of the enterprise, vacation schedules, procurement of sports and cultural tickets, approval of loans to members (union dues are used to provide low-interest, long-term loans to members supposedly on a non-partisan basis), and other non-controversial topics. New government laws and regulations are read to the membership, generally without discussion, and highlights of recent political happenings are brought up. Topics such as wages, reduction of the workweek, and additional holidays are not discussed.

During the 1984 deliberations of the International Labor Organization's (ILO) Committee on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations, Romanian labor practices were criticized on two points: First, members of the Committee recalled that the ILO Committee of Experts, in 1981, raised the issue that Romanian trade unions are not free to determine their constitutions, activities, or programs since they had to follow the dictates of one central administration. Second, the unions were used mainly to "mobilize the masses for the accomplishment of the party program and policy." No change in either policy was perceived in the interim. The Committee recommended that the Government consider the possibility of receiving a direct contacts mission from the ILO to help olve these issues.

c. Freedom of Religion

The exercise of freedom of religion is greatly limited despite constitutional guarantees. The Communist Party advocates atheism, and religious activism by state officials and party members is strongly discouraged.

The Government, through the Department of Cults, recognizes and financially supports 14 officially sanctioned faiths and denominations including Romanian Orthodox (the largest), Roman Catholic, Lutheran, Calvinist, Unitarian, Baptist, Pentecostal, Seventh-Day Adventist, Jewish, and Muslim. The Department is responsible for closely monitoring all religious groups, licensing clergymen, paying their salaries, and overseeing retirement benefits, and serves as the official liaison between the Government and church groups. It must also approve all requests for new church construction, new clergymen, religious publications, and foreign travel by church representatives.

During 1984, fewer cases of harassment were reported, although the persecution of members of denominations not recognized by the State, such as Jehovah's Witnesses, Mormons, Christian Scientists, and Romanian Uniates continues. Individuals are still fined and imprisoned for religious practices. Early in 1984, a Baptist minister was arrested and fined for possession and distribution of unauthorized materials (religious publications brought into the country from abroad without the necessary official permission). In addition, Pentecostals reported that many persons were fined for worshiping in private homes and unauthorized places. The Romanian Orthodox priest, Father Gheorghe Calciu, imprisoned since 1979 for sermons critical of the Romanian Government, was released in August 1984. However, there is continuing concern that he is being confined under house arrest or may be removed from Bucharest to prevent contact with human rights activists from abroad.

In a potentially positive move, the Department of Cults has promised additional places in religious seminaries to several faiths, including the Baptists, the Calvinists, and the Unitarians, though no results are yet apparent.

The construction and remodeling of churches of certain denominations remains a problem. A Pentecostal church in the city of Cluj-Napoca was demolished early in 1984 because of the unauthorized remodeling of the interior. The country's largest Baptist church, located in the center of the city of Oradea, has been ordered demolished, ostensibly due to the redevelopment of the area where it is located. On the other hand, the Department of Cults has approved the construction of more new churches in several cities and villages around the country than in recent years.

Bibles and other religious texts are still in short supply in Romania, and their importation is strictly regulated. Promises have been received from the Department of Cults for a common edition of the Bible to be printed in the near future for the Baptists, Pentecostals, Seventh-Day Adventists, and Lutherans. The number of copies to be printed remains a point of contention.

A few Catholic clergy recently have been permitted to travel abroad for training and consultations.

Anti-Semitic literary works which appeared at the end of 1983 were removed from book shops in April 1984. One 19th century play of an anti-Semitic nature was republished late in the year, but President Ceausescu denounced anti-Semitism in his November 19 report to the Communist Party's 13th Congress.

d. Freedom of Movement Within the Country, Foreign Travel, Emigration, and Repatriation

There are no official restrictions placed on travel within Romania, with the exceptions of restricted military areas (access prohibited) and border areas (access is carefully limited to residents of the areas and those with economic need to travel there). For fuel conservation reasons, a national ban on driving on alternate Sundays based on license numbers reduces the amount of weekend traffic.

There have been reports of persons forbidden by the authorities from traveling to attend certain functions such as religious gatherings, funerals, and international events, because these were not perceived to be in the Government's interest.

The right of a citizen to change place of residence is extremely restricted. Admission of new residents to the larger Romanian cities is legally restricted to persons able to obtain both housing and employment: since each is contingent on assurances of the other, official sponsorship for any relocation to the larger cities is effectively required. Residence in smaller Romanian cities is easier to obtain than in Bucharest and the larger cities.

Travel outside of Romania, especially outside of the Eastern European countries, is a rare privilege. Those who are allowed to travel abroad are usually individuals who hold relatively senior positions in the party or Government, or those who have been able to convince the authorities of their intent to return, usually by leaving close family members behind. Another group to receive passports are older parents traveling to visit children resident abroad.

The Government does not accept as a right the permanent departure of citizens from Romania. In October 1984, President Ceausescu said it is the duty of all citizens to stay and build a better society for themselves and for their children. Those who do express a desire to emigrate continue to face a wide variety of punitive discouragements. Some prospective emigrants continue to wait years before they are issued emigration passports. Once a passport is issued, the intended emigrant is no longer allowed to work, own property, send children to school, receive public medical benefits, pensions, or rationed items, or benefit from any other state-subsidized service.

Many persons leaving Romania for reasons other than family reunification are forced to renounce their citizenship. This action precludes individuals from repatriation in the future.

There have been cases reported during the past year of persons who have returned to take up residence in Romania without incident. Others, who have been turned over to the Romanian authorities after leaving the country illegally, have faced immediate trials and prison sentences for the offense.

Though official policy discourages emigration, 1984 saw an upturn in the total numbers of persons allowed to leave Romania for Israel, the Federal Republic of Germany, and the United States. Nearly 19,000 left in 1984. In addition, the waiting time for passports was generally shorter than in the past.

Section 3 Respect for Political Rights: The Right of Citizens to Change Their Government

The individual citizen has almost no voice in shaping public policy or choosing public officials, since government at all levels is dominated by the Communist Party, control of which is concentrated in the hands of the President, his wife, and key figures around them. The views of the rank-and-file party membership or the citizenry at large have little apparent impact on the autocratic, centralized decisionmaking process.

Representatives to national and local legislative bodies are selected through periodic general elections. Candidates for public office are chosen by a mass organization, the Front for Socialist Democracy and Unity, which is controlled by the Communist Party; the public has no voice in the nominating process. Voting is mandatory and enforced by fines.

The Communist Party is Eastern Europe's largest in per capita terms, comprising more than 13.5 percent of the total population. At least for much of the rank and file, there is little ideological commitment to the principles of Marxism-Leninism. Party membership is typically accepted out of fear of economic and other sanctions in case of refusal or, conversely, the conviction that joining the party will broaden professional or educational opportunities, insure tenure, or lead to salary increases and other benefits such as better housing. The comparatively small group of professional party activists undergoes an intensive, progressive indoctrination process as its members rise through the ranks. However, even in this elite group, evidence of corrupt practices suggests that many of those who direct the party are motivated less by ideology than by the desire for power, prestige, and perquisites. While women and minorities are represented proportionally in the Romanian Communist Party, their influence--especially of the minority representatives--seems to have diminished.

Section 4 Governmental Attitude Regarding International and Non-governmental Investigation of Alleged Violations of Human Rights

Although Romania professes support for the human rights provisions of the Helsinki Accords, the United Nations Charter, and other documents dealing with human rights, it continues to insist that the lot of its own citizens is an internal matter not subject to international discussion or examination, and to charge critics with seeking to tarnish Romania's image for self-serving ends.

In February 1984, however, the United States and Romania held the latest in a series of government-to-government Human Rights Roundtable discussions, a forum for exchange of views on religious freedom, civil and political rights, educational and cultural possibilities for minority groups, the role of trade unions, and economic and social rights, among other subjects. Romania has been the only Eastern European country to hold such talks with the United States.

A recent report by the Council of Europe on the situation of Romania's large ethnic Hungarian minority was highly critical. Also early in 1984, in response to criticism from the U.S. Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, the Romanian Government issued invitations to the Commission to visit Romania and "see for themselves." The Commission was unable to accept prior to the annual U.S. Government review of Romania's most-favored-nation trading status. Following the conclusion of this review, which resulted in renewed most-favored-nation status for Romania, the Commission has sought several times without success to take up the Romanian invitation, according to its report.

Amnesty International's 1984 report (covering 1983) expressed concern about the imprisonment of prisoners of conscience, allegations of mistreatment following arrest on political charges, and instances in which defendants on political charges were not accorded fair trials. Amnesty also noted harsh prison conditions and the increasing use of the death penalty. Freedom House rates Romania "not free."

ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND CULTURAL SITUATION

The World Bank designates Romania as a developing country. Based on a population of 22.7 million and the current official rate of exchange, per capita gross national product was $2,558 in 1982, according to the World Bank. From a largely agrarian economy--at one time a major supplier of grain to Central Europe--Romania reached its present semi-industrialized state by maintaining extremely high rates of industrial investment financed by earnings of agriculture and the petroleum industry and also by foreign borrowing and restricting consumption. In 1984, the national economy continued to confront rising costs, energy shortages, and stringent efforts by the Government to reduce the country's foreign debt as quickly as possible. Both agriculture and industry have suffered noticeably during 1984 from lack of needed imports.

According to Romanian law, all land belongs to the state. In 1980, 60.6 percent of agricultural land were used by cooperatives, 30 percent by state-owned farm enterprises, and 9.4 percent by private citizens. Other property, including personal property and housing, may be privately owned, although there are a number of restrictions on the right to property. In early 1984, the Government placed controls over production on private plots as well. Businesses are state- owned, except for small service or handicraft shops.

The Constitution guarantees employment to all citizens and equal pay for equal work. Unemployment is a crime ("social parasitism"). Official statistics show full employment, though in reality chronic underemployment exists, especially in agriculture and depressed industrial sectors, and "featherbedding" is common. A new wage scheme adopted in 1984 sets pay as a function of plan fulfillment, a practice which has led in several instances to thinner pay envelopes as factories, short of needed inputs, failed to meet their targets.

Romania provides free medical care for all its citizens. According to 1984 statistics, average Romanian life expectancy is 71.6 years. In 1984, infant mortality was 27 per 1,000 live births. Romanian statistics claimed 9.3 hospital beds per 1,000 inhabitants, and one physician per 507 inhabitants in 1984. Ten years of education is compulsory and provided without charge by the state. Beginning with the third year of secondary school, examinations are required for placement in the limited openings at both the secondary and university levels. Evening courses and work-study programs are available to students at technical institutes.

An official Romanian government estimate in July 1982 reported an average per capita intake of 3,300 calories. The

ROMANIA

Government's report called for a reduction to 2,800-3,000 calories per day by 1985. This program has not been officially enacted, despite the adoption in summer 1984 by the national legislature of the proposed "scientific diet." Foreign sales of foodstuffs to earn hard currency and the new scientific diet have led some to predict the likelihood of dietary deficiencies for the elderly, the housebound, and workers in rural factories dependent on badly-supplied local foodstores.

Rationing of basic foodstuffs continues, varying in application from county to county, with bread rationing reportedly having been introduced in some counties earlier in 1984. As of the third quarter of 1984, the consumer's situation in Romania was relatively better than in 1983.

Over the past two decades, the Government has made a determined effort and invested large sums to provide adequate housing for its urban population. As a result, new apartment block developments abound throughout the country, and the practice of several families sharing apartments, kitchens, and toilets--common only a few years ago--is disappearing.

In Romania, women are constitutionally guaranteed the same rights and privileges as men. The Government has been seeking to upgrade the role of women in the society with specific policies in the areas of education, access to employment, and comparable wages. As a result, women are employed in virtually all sectors of the economy, and there is equal opportunity in education, but at the senior levels of responsibility and authority they appear in far smaller numbers. Many women are still found in the most menial jobs, such as agricultural stoop labor, street cleaning, and snow removal. Because of the anti-abortion campaign, many women must undergo periodic pregnancy tests to insure that an abortion has not occurred

According to official Romanian figures, the country's population includes about 2.7 million members of ethnic minorities, of whom 1.7 million are ethnic Hungarians or Magyars. Hungarian emigre sources, however, generally estimate the Magyar population at 2-2.5 million. Hungarians, Germans, Gypsies, and members of many smaller groups constitute about 12 percent of the total population. The Constitution forbids any discrimination on the basis of ethnic background. Although the Government claims it does not discriminate against the minorities, there nonetheless are limitations on minority groups' free expression of their cultural heritage. Government efforts to centralize and to economize by combining educational, social, and cultural activities frequently affect minority groups disproportionately and are often interpreted as the "Romanianization" of these groups. For example, the mergers of schools, theaters, or other such institutions often result in the loss of the minority ethnic groups' characteristics as the institutions become predominantly Romanian. This movement is viewed, particularly by ethnic Hungarians, as part of a policy of cultural extinction. Moreover, strict government control of private organizations which might be dedicated to the preservation of ethnic cultural practices, as well as government limitations on minority language newspapers and radio and television broadcasts, are also seen by members of the minorities as discriminatory.

U.S.OVERSEAS -LOANS AND GRANTS- OBLIGATIONS AND LOAN AUTHORIZATIONS
(U.S.FISCAL YEARS - MILLIONS OF DOLLARS)

COUNTRY: ROMANIA

	1982	1983	1984
I.ECON. ASSIST.-TOTAL...	0.0	0.0	0.0
LOANS..............	0.0	0.0	0.0
GRANTS.............	0.0	0.0	0.0
A.AID	0.0	0.0	0.0
LOANS..............	0.0	0.0	0.0
GRANTS.............	0.0	0.0	0.0
(SEC.SUPP.ASSIST.)...	0.0	0.0	0.0
B.FOOD FOR PEACE.......	0.0	0.0	0.0
LOANS..............	0.0	0.0	0.0
GRANTS.............	0.0	0.0	0.0
TITLE I-TOTAL..........	0.0	0.0	0.0
REPAY. IN $-LOANS.....	0.0	0.0	0.0
PAY. IN FOR. CURR.....	0.0	0.0	0.0
TITLE II-TOTAL.........	0.0	0.0	0.0
E.RELIEF.EC.DEV & WFP.	0.0	0.0	0.0
VOL.RELIEF AGENCY.....	0.0	0.0	0.0
C.OTHER ECON. ASSIST...	0.0	0.0	0.0
LOANS..............	0.0	0.0	0.0
GRANTS.............	0.0	0.0	0.0
PEACE CORPS......	0.0	0.0	0.0
NARCOTICS........	0.0	0.0	0.0
OTHER............	0.0	0.0	0.0
II.MIL. ASSIST.-TOTAL...	0.0	0.0	0.0
LOANS..............	0.0	0.0	0.0
GRANTS.............	0.0	0.0	0.0
A.MAP GRANTS..........	0.0	0.0	0.0
B.CREDIT FINANCING....	0.0	0.0	0.0
C.INTL MIL.ED.TRNG....	0.0	0.0	0.0
D.TRAN-EXCESS STOCK...	0.0	0.0	0.0
E.OTHER GRANTS........	0.0	0.0	0.0
III.TOTAL ECON. & MIL...	0.0	0.0	0.0
LOANS..............	0.0	0.0	0.0
GRANTS.............	0.0	0.0	0.0
OTHER US LOANS..........	0.0	28.4	0.0
EX-IM BANK LOANS.......	0.0	0.0	0.0
ALL OTHER..............	0.0	28.4	0.0

ASSISTANCE FROM INTERNATIONAL AGENCIES

	1982	1983	1984	1946-84
TOTAL........	322.9	2.0	0.0	1809.9
IBRD	321.5	0.0	0.0	1788.0
IFC	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
IDA	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
IDB	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
ADB	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
AFDB	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
UNDP	1.4	2.0	0.0	21.9
OTHER-UN	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
EEC	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0

[illegible]

INTERNATIONAL PRACTICES AND AGREEMENTS CONCERNING COMPULSORY LABOR AND U.S. IMPORTS OF GOODS MANUFACTURED BY CONVICT, FORCED, OR INDENTURED LABOR

Report to the Committee on
Finance, United States Senate
on Investigation No. 332-
178 Under Section 332
of the Tariff Act of 1930

USITC PUBLICATION 1630

DECEMBER 1984

United States International Trade Commission / Washington, D.C. 20436

Foreign Prison Production and Trade

Correctional systems investigated

During the investigation, information was collected on the operation of correctional systems and the use of compulsory labor in 31 individual countries. 1/ A list of countries and U.S. imports from each is shown in table 1. As the table indicates, countries were considered in three groups: the major U.S. trading partners, non-market economy countries, and other countries. The group of largest suppliers includes eight individual countries plus the European Community (EC). In 1983 this group supplied about 75 percent of total U.S. imports. Canada, Japan, Mexico and the EC supplied 60 percent, and the other large suppliers, mostly in Southeast Asia, supplied 14 percent.

Generally, countries considered to be among the major U.S. trading partners are those with exports to the United States valued at $2 billion or more in 1983. However, only five countries, 2/ with exports to the United States exceeding $2 billion each in 1983, were not investigated. Their exports consisted almost entirely of petroleum products, and it was found that for most such products, compulsory labor is unlikely to be used or used to a negligible degree and, even if used, cannot be associated with a specific output. Based on data compiled for the operations of U.S. oil refineries, it is estimated that labor costs amount to less than 2 percent of the total cost of producing refined oil products. With labor comprising such a small part of the total, the amount of compulsory labor used rather than regular labor may be negligible.

The "nonmarket economy" group includes five countries, of which China was the largest supplier. The "other" group includes nine countries, of which the Republic of South Africa is the largest supplier. Most of the countries in this latter group are those which have been the subject of section 307 cases at Customs or of questions raised in the ILO or other international bodies about their use of compulsory labor.

1/ Most of the information on foreign correctional systems was supplied by the U.S. Department of State and prepared by U.S. embassies or consulates in the respective countries in response to a request of the U.S. International Trade Commission. See each of the countries for specific references to these reports.

2/ Venezuela, Saudi Arabia, Algeria, Nigeria, and Netherlands Antilles.

Other nonmarket economy countries (NME's).--The prison population for the three other nonmarket economy countries studied (Poland, Romania and Czechoslovakia) is not known. Of these countries, Romania is the largest supplier to the U.S. market, shipping $513 million in 1983. However, more than one-half of the imports supplied by Romania in 1983 were gasoline or other petroleum products, which are believed to have little, if any, direct input from compulsory labor. As shown in appendix H, manufactured goods imported from Romania include footwear, furniture, and apparel. Products from the mining and agricultural sectors which may be exported to the United States include unwrought aluminum, pork products, and cheese.

Poland is a smaller supplier than Romania, and Czechoslovakia is the smallest supplier among the 31 countries studied. Imports from Poland have declined by more than one half since 1980, dropping to $191 million in 1983. A single product--pork hams and shoulders--accounted for more than one-third of the total 1983 imports. In 1956, Customs investigated reports related to pork hams from Poland and determined that there was not sufficient evidence to ban such imports under section 307. Imports from Czechoslovakia totaled only $62 million in 1983.

Table H-29.--Leading items in U.S. imports for consumption from Romania in 1981, 1982, 1983, January-June 1983, and January-June 1984

(In thousands of dollars; customs value)

TSUSA Number	Description	1981	1982	1983	January-June--	
					1983	1984
4752520	Gasoline-----------------------	90,241	69,846	207,709	93,838	69,028
4751015	Light fuel oils a tcr 25deg-----	8,908	0	36,246	0	13,392
4753500	Naphthas derived petroleum,-----	49,975	19,786	24,017	0	98,491
7273540	Furniture of wood, nspf---------	9,092	11,639	13,199	7,480	0
4803000	Urea, nspf----------------------	2,893	0	10,885	6,145	17,358
4750535	Heavy fuel oils un 25 deg-------	0	0	10,052	0	0
7004540	Footwear, leather, cement-------	5,762	10,826	9,719	2,599	2,188
6180200	Unwrght aluminum nspf, other----	581	0	8,259	0	1,065
1073525	Pork hams & shouldrs, boned,----	13,933	6,577	7,199	3,188	2,041
7003550	Footwear, leather, nspf for-----	8,482	6,171	6,897	2,352	661
5466020	Tmblrs, gblts, a stmwre ov------	5,331	3,822	5,572	2,105	3,288
7272900	Chairs, wood, nspf--------------	3,663	4,154	4,781	3,016	1,770
4806550	Nitrogen solutions--------------	0	0	4,654	0	4,166
3105049	Yarns except textured wholly----	2,752	3,786	4,576	2,297	2,321
6803712	Ball bearings radial od over----	4,563	3,699	4,526	2,343	1,217
6923406	Tractors, wheel ex gardn new----	10,536	11,289	4,468	1,508	2,110
1176700	Cheese, pecorino, in orig-------	2,518	2,905	4,217	2,958	2,286
7002960	Footwear for men, leather,------	1,207	9,952	3,936	2,312	1,202
3601515	Wool floor covergs pile hand----	6,957	3,616	3,773	2,143	2,119
7271500	Furniture and parts of----------	2,907	3,743	3,429	1,852	2,505
7004510	Ftwr, leather, nspf, casual-----	3,686	285	3,241	53	193
5466660	Glswr nspf nt cut or engravd----	1,701	1,447	3,192	1,107	354
3838073	Womens a girls sweaters knit----	0	2,391	3,111	845	1,634
3839050	Womens other manmade fiber------	0	3,568	3,046	2,115	0
3839060	Womens girls & infnt manmade----	0	3,399	3,010	2,964	290
3793905	Mens an boys jogging jackets----	0	1,876	2,855	703	737
6803938	Tapered roller bearings,cone----	2,216	3,488	2,839	1,178	635
7061340	Luggage, bags & cases, nspf-----	1,269	3,052	2,824	1,479	0
3798355	Mens or boys other wool ntkt----	0	3,840	2,695	2,385	411
3794050	Mens and boys cotton knit-------	0	1,733	2,693	1,946	2,009
	Total-------------------------	239,174	196,891	407,622	150,909	233,471
	Total, all items imported from Romania---------------	559,449	339,121	512,821	202,862	390,717

Source: Compiled from official statistics of the U.S. Department of Commerce.

RESPONSES OF STATE DEPARTMENT TO QUESTIONS ASKED BY SENATOR PRESSLER

Summary: A passing reference by Ceausescu last fall to the idea of moving elderly city dwellers to the countryside touched off Western press comment and much apprehension in Bucharest. Another trial balloon launched by Ceausescu in the same speech (a national network of community canteens, replacing the family kitchen) turned out to be much more rhetoric than reality. So far, any exile-the-elderly scheme seems even more just a flight of the President's fancy that never got off the ground. There is no evidence of a new law or decree affecting the elderly, or any indication that organized resettlement has been undertaken. It still could, however. With urban renewal still chewing up the capital and other cities, there is much pressure to find new housing for the displaced. The elderly probably get lowest priority in assignment of new urban housing. A few underpopulated towns offer somewhere to put them. Though nothing like this has begun, the lot of the elderly has worsened more than that of others, as poor economic performance drives standards of living even lower. There are reliable reports that senior citizens often are refused ambulance service or hospitalization. But this seems more the result of overall disastrous shortages than of conscious central government policy: increasingly, others are denied these services as well. In all, life for the elderly in Romania is getting worse -- but not much more than for anyone else. End Summary.

Last September, in a speech to a national conference of local and county officials, President Ceausescu again addressed the country's economic situation. The main thrust of his speech was to underline the Government's new demand for financial self-sufficiency and greater contributions to the national budget. As usual, while not admitting serious shortcomings, his answer to the country's grave economic woes was to castigate idleness and call for more worker discipline and central control. He also floated several new ideas apparently designed to show the government was undertaking bold new programs to improve the quality of life.

To Western observers, the two of these which seemed least realistic were a scheme to establish a network of community "canteens" which, together with greatly-expanded production of semi-processed foods, would ultimately replace the family kitchen; and a passing reference, in discussing the nationwide urban renewal program, to the fact that older people might be moved from urban areas to the countryside, where they would have "good living and housing conditions". This statement attracted Western attention, with some media speculation that Romania was about to establish "geriatric villages", where pensioners would be dumped and neglected.

In fact, the "community canteen" scheme has received some emphasis, but there has been little real movement on it. The "geriatric villages" idea seems to have been even more a trial balloon. Shortly after Ceausescu launched it, many were apprehensive that their pensioned elderly relatives -- who often form an essential part of the contemporary Romanian urban family unit, as "queue-standers" for food and other necessities, baby-sitters for husband-wife pairs holding down four jobs, etc. -- might be summarily banished to the countryside. Some speculated a new, secret decree implementing such a scheme was in the works. Others spoke of rural villages earmarked for use as geriatric concentration camps.

In fact, there is no evidence of such a decree, public or otherwise, nor are there signs that the Government has made any effort to implement such a program. Unlike the "community canteens" idea, which received much publicity as the Government sought to revive the old "menu-fix" scheme which died in the 1970's, there has been only one story, in a local newspaper, which praised the idea, and none of the usual laudatory press reporting which would inevitably accompany implementation of such a program.

More important, the old people are still in Bucharest and in other major urban centers. In Bucharest, elderly persons among the thousands displaced by implementation of urban-renewal plans are experiencing great difficulty in finding state-assigned alternative housing in adjacent suburbs. There is no sign that the government has offered them new housing in specially-designated country locations. So far, apparently, it has offered them nothing. This strikes no great contrast with what the Government has offered others. Like most of the dispossessed, the urban elderly "make do" by sheltering with relatives, taking illegal sub-leases, or moving back individually to various country villages where, like almost all Romanian city-dwellers, they have close family.

Two of the various locations rumored to have selected as sites for geriatric resettlement are Zimnicea, south of Bucharest near the Danube; and Slobozia, a small city due east of Bucharest on the Ialomita River. The latter has a population of about 45,000 and some industry. Both of these communities were substantially destroyed during the 1977 earthquake. In both cases, the towns were rebuilt with substantial foreign assistance (a Swedish-donated hospital, for example) and with grandiose government plans which led to overbuilding both of residential capacity and of municipal services. Zimnicea has been something of a ghost town ever since, despite government efforts to encourage population growth. There are no reports that would suggest any organized resettlement of urban pensioners to either of these towns. A third location rumored to be one of the sites selected, Tincabeste (north of Bucharest on the main highway to Ploiesti), is a less logical candidate. Tincabeste shows no sign of an increased pensioner population.

Though it thus appears Ceausescu's September trial balloon never got off the ground, the situation for the elderly is becoming more difficult. They form a necessary part of many urban family units. Traditional strong family ties in Romanian society mean that many pensioners can find shelter with relatives; as families' need for someone with leisure time (to shop, mind the children, etc.) increases, they are more and more welcome. At the same time, however, increasing financial distress has forced municipal authorities throughout the country to cut back on services. One easy target, and a group on which these cutbacks have fallen heavily, is the elderly. There are numerous reports indicating that hospitals now regularly turn away elderly patients, or accept only those extreme cases likely to die quickly. Widespread shortages of medicine, hospital beds, and even food, are factors which could cause hospital administrators to concentrate their meager resources for younger members of the population.

Similarly, there are numerous reports from Romanians that ambulance service is typically refused to persons over the age of 60. Due to fuel shortages, ambulance service is now apparently restricted to mothers in labor, major emergencies, and children over the age of one. It is not clear that this is a "national policy," but it certainly seems a widespread practice.

The only piece of new legislation or regulation regarding the elderly is in a new law on self-financing. One section of the new law sets new, higher minimums for "patriotic contributions" of unpaid labor, services, and money each citizen must give to the state each year. One section of that law allows exemption from these demands on the basis of medical certificates of unfitness, also approved by the local (i.e., non-medical) authorities. This section makes no exemption for the elderly as such. Another section of the same law fixes a minimum -- but no maximum -- age for those who must donate labor and money to the state. Thus it seems clear that in today's Romania one is expected to toil for the state each year no matter how old or how long past retirement age, unless ill or otherwise disabled.

Conclusion: Despite a flurry of Western press reporting at the time, there is no sign that Ceausescu's September reference to resettling some elderly city-dwellers has resulted in any new Government program. It may be, of course, that there is some plan in the works, ready to emerge once the details of such a complex scheme are worked out. It is more likely that services for the elderly will continue to decline -- unless the overall economic situation improves considerably, an unlikely possibility at least in the near term. At the same time, displacement of the elderly (and others) is likely to occur even more as the grandiose national scheme of urban renewal and rural redevelopment continues its course. With housing still in short supply in many areas, the elderly are likely to be low on the government's list for new, alternative housing. There are good candidate locations for establishment of rural "geriatric ghettos".

RESPONSES OF MR. DERWINSKI & MR. PALMER TO QUESTIONS ASKED BY SENATOR TRIBLE

Romania's Overall Voting Record in the UNGA

Overall the coincidence of voting between the U.S. and Romania in the 40th General Assembly was indeed low. Romania voted with us only 14.6 percent of the time. (This compares with the Eastern European average of 12.4 percent).

On the other hand, when it comes to votes the U.S. considers to be most important, Romania's record is much better. Of the "ten key issues" Romania voted with us on two, against us on three and abstained or was absent on five. This was much better than the rest of the Warsaw Pact countries (which voted with us one one issue, against us on eight and abstained on one) and compared favorably to the voting of many non-aligned countries on these issues. Included in those issues where Romania broke with the Soviets were Israeli credentials and the U.S. resolution condemning the use of chemical and biological weapons. On both of them Romania joined the U.S. in voting in favor, while the USSR voted no. Romania also absented itself on resolutions the U.S. supported (Cambodia, Afghanistan) or opposed (name-calling resolutions on Namibia and the Middle East). On the first two the USSR voted no and on the second two, yes. On 11 "name-calling" votes (i.e., cases in which the U.S. -- contrary to UN practice -- is criticized by name) the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact nations voted against us all 11 times, while Romania voted against us four times and was absent the other seven.

LONG-TERM GOAL OF DIFFERENTIATION

Q. Is the long-term U.S. goal of differentiation a "new Europe?" One that emphasizes its national character, and reduces its alignments with either the U.S. or the USSR?

A. WE ARE FULLY COGNIZANT OF OUR LIMITED ABILITY TO DIRECTLY INFLUENCE EASTERN EUROPEAN AFFAIRS. WE HARBOR NO ILLUSION OF CHANGING THE BASIC POLITICAL STRUCTURE OF EASTERN EUROPE ANY TIME SOON. WE SEEK TO ADVANCE OUR INTERESTS THROUGH THE PRACTICAL POSSIBILITIES THAT PRESENT THEMSELVES IN EACH BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP. WHAT WE DO HOPE TO DO IS TO SUPPORT DEEP-SEATED ASPIRATIONS FOR A SYSTEM THAT FULFILLS HUMAN AND CIVIL RIGHTS, AND MATERIAL ASPIRATIONS.

OTHER CRITERIA FOR MFN

Q. Given the abysmal state of human rights in Romania, and ten years of marginal success, shouldn't the U.S. broaden its criteria for granting of concessions to Romania? Shouldn't ethnic, religious, and cultural persecution all be criteria for denying concessions to Romania?

A. -- AS WE SAID IN OUR TESTIMONY, WE HAVE, UP TO NOW, BASED OR VIEW ON THE NUMBERS OF PEOPLE WE HAVE BEEN ABLE TO HELP.

-- MFN HAS BEEN AN IMPORTANT TOOL IN SECURING IMPROVED EMIGRATION PERFORMANCE BUT ONE SHOULD NOT OVERESTIMATE ITS STRENGTH. LIKE ANY LEVER, IT WILL BREAK IF USED AGAINST TOO GREAT A WEIGHT. FURTHER FORMAL REQUIREMENTS FOR MFN COULD EASILY DESTROY OUR FLEXIBILITY TO OBTAIN NON-EMIGRATION CONCESSIONS FROM THE ROMANIAN GOVERNMENT.

-- MFN IS A MISNOMER. MFN IS NOT A SPECIAL CONCESSION. OVER 140 COUNTRIES HAVE IT. IT IS A NORMAL CONDITION FOR COMMERCIAL RELATIONS. "MOST FAVORED NATION" TREATMENT MEANS THAT WE ACCORD NONDISCRIMINATORY TARIFF TREATMENT, NOT A SPECIAL TRADE PERFERENCE. IT IN NO WAY SIGNIFIES APPROVAL OF CONDITIONS IN COUNTRIES THAT HAVE IT. ON THE CONTRARY, WITH RESPECT TO ROMANIA, MFN IS THE PRINCIPAL MEANS AVAILABLE TO US TO WORK TO IMPROVE THOSE CONDITIONS.

-- OUR DISCUSSIONS AT THE HEARINGS ON FEBRUARY 26, AS WELL AS PREVIOUS HEARINGS, MAKE IT PLAIN THAT BROADER HUMAN RIGHTS CONCERNS ARE CENTRAL TO OUR INTERESTS IN ROMANIA.

Increased Portion of Romania's Trade with Communist Countries

Q. One of the arguments advanced by the administration in the past has been that Romania maintains a stance somewhat independent of Moscow. Yet, it appears that the Communist countries' share of Romania's foreign trade rose to 53.5% in 1983 from 35.7% in 1981. Absolute statistics for 1984 are difficult to acquire, but the figures at least show that imports from the Communist bloc rose more rapidly than those from the West. Do you disagree with these statistics, and if so, how and why? Should this shift be grounds for denial of MFN? Why or why not?

A. THERE CERTAINLY WAS A SUBSTANTIAL INCREASE IN ROMANIA'S SHARE OF TRADE WITH COMMUNIST COUNTRIES FROM 1981 TO 1983, ALTHOUGH THE INCREASE MAY NOT HAVE BEEN AS LARGE AS YOU SUGGESTED DUE TO THE DIFFICULTY OF TRANSLATING THE VALUE OF THE VARIOUS CURRENCIES INTO DOLLAR TERMS AND POSSIBLE OTHER REASONS. THE CATEGORY "COMMUNIST COUNTRIES" INCLUDES NON-SOVIET WARSAW PACT MEMBERS, AS WELL AS CHINA AND YUGOSLAVIA, WHICH ARE NOT WARSAW PACT MEMBERS AND WITH WHICH THE UNITED STATES ALSO ENJOYS SUBSTANTIAL TRADING RELATIONS.

THE MAIN REASON FOR THE INCREASE IN THE PERCENT OF ROMANIAN IMPORTS FROM COMMUNIST COUNTRIES SINCE 1981 IS NOT AN INCREASE IN ROMANIAN TRADE WITH THESE COUNTRIES IN ABSOLUTE TERMS. RATHER, ROMANIA WAS FORCED TO SLASH ITS HARD CURRENCY IMPORTS FROM WESTERN COUNTRIES BECAUSE OF ITS DEBT CRISIS. THERE IS NO EVIDENCE THAT THIS REDUCTION WAS POLITICALLY MOTIVATED.

THEREFORE, WE DO NOT BELIEVE THAT THE SHIFT IN PERCENTAGES OF ROMANIAN TRADE WITH COMMUNIST COUNTRIES VERSUS THE WEST IS REASON FOR DENIAL OF MFN. ROMANIA REMAINS THE ONLY EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRY THAT DOES ABOUT 50 PERCENT OF ITS TRADE WITH NON-WARSAW PACT MEMBERS. ONCE THE ROMANIAN DEBT SITUATION EASES, ROMANIA SHOULD BE IN A POSITION TO INCREASE ITS IMPORTS FROM THE WEST.

Question 1.: Some 21,284 Romanian citizens were issued immigration visas by the U.S. West German and Israeli Embassies in Bucharest in 1984, the highest total since MFN was accorded to Romania, and three times higher than the figures for 1975 or 1976. Are these figures an indication of success, and can that success continue? Many argue that we have come up against a wall of government intransigence in its "principled opposition" to emigration, and that most Jews and ethnic Germans have already left. Further, it is argued that most family reunification cases have been settled and that only the Hungarians remain, a group of two million that the Romanians will not let out.

BASED ON A DETAILED STUDY OF EMIGRATION FROM ROMANIA OVER THE PAST NINE YEARS, THERE IS EVERY INDICATION OF SUBSTANTIAL SUCCESS. IT IS EVIDENT THAT THE ROMANIAN AUTHORITIES HAVE VERY MUCH LIBERALIZED THEIR EMIGRATION POLICIES. WHILE IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO PREDICT ROMANIAN EMIGRATION POLICIES IN THE FUTURE, THE POSITIVE IMPACT OF MFN OVER THE PAST NINE YEARS IS UNDENIABLE AND IS BASED ON ACTUALITIES. WE CAN ONLY ASSUME THAT CONTINUING MFN WILL MEAN CONTINUING LIBERALIZATION OF EMIGRATION.

THE ROMANIAN GOVERNMENT'S "PRINCIPLED OPPOSITION" TO EMIGRATION IS NOT NEW. HOWEVER, DESPITE IT, OVER 150,000 ROMANIANS HAVE LEGALLY EMIGRATED SINCE 1975.

CERTAINLY WE WERE HEARTENED BY RECORD EMIGRATION ACHIEVED IN 1984 AND BY THE RELATIVELY HIGH FIGURES FOR THE LAST SEVERAL YEARS. IT IS TRUE THAT THE VAST MAJORITY OF ROMANIAN JEWS HAVE ALREADY EMIGRATED TO ISRAEL, AND LESS THAN 25,000 REMAIN. HOWEVER, IT IS IMPORTANT TO CONTINUE ACCESS TO EMIGRATION FOR THOSE REMAINING, A SIGNIFICANT PORTION OF WHOM WOULD STILL LIKE

TO LEAVE. OVER THE LAST TEN YEARS, ONE-THIRD OF THE ETHNIC GERMANS IN ROMANIA HAVE EMIGRATED TO THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC. HOWEVER, 280,000 ETHNIC GERMANS REMAIN, AND WE CONTINUE TO MONITOR THEIR OPPORTUNITY FOR EMIGRATION AS WELL AS THEIR ACCESS TO EDUCATION AND CULTURE IN ROMANIA. IN TERMS OF HUMAN LIVES, THERE IS NO BASIS FOR THE INFERENCE THAT THE NUMBER OF FAMILY REUNIFICATION CASES IS INSIGNIFICANT.

Question 3: In 1985, the U.S. and Romania reached an understanding on procedures for emigration to the U.S. that were aimed at alleviating hardships encountered by individuals who have received exit permission but are awaiting U.S. visas or other travel documentation. What has been the effect of this understanding in practical terms? Has it reduced the large and embarrasing U.S. backlog in admissions?

THE ORAL AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES AND THE GOVERNMENT OF ROMANIA HAS ONLY BEEN IN EFFECT FOR SOME SIX MONTHS. WE BELIEVE THAT IT IS STILL TOO EARLY TO COMPLETELY ASSESS ITS EFFECTIVENESS. HOWEVER, ALL INDICATIONS ARE THAT IT HAS ENABLED SUBSTANTIAL IMPROVEMENTS, AND WE CONTINUE TO MONITOR ITS SUCCESS.

THE HARDSHIPS ENCOUNTERED BY INDIVIDUALS WHO RECEIVED PERMISSION TO EMIGRATE WERE OF GREAT CONCERN TO THE U.S. GOVERNMENT. PREVIOUSLY, THOSE AWAITING EMIGRATION LOST EMPLOYMENT, HOUSING, RATION CARDS AND ACCESS TO SOCIAL SERVICES. THIS PROBLEM APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN ALLEVIATED BY THE NEW UNDERSTANDING. IN ADDITION, THE GOVERNMENT OF ROMANIA HAS COMPLIED WITH OUR REQUEST TO ONLY ISSUE EXIT PERMISSION FOR THE U.S. TO THOSE PERSONS WHOM THE EMBASSY HAS INDICATED ARE ELIGIBLE FOR IMMIGRATION.

THE TEMPORARY BACKLOG IN REFUGEE THIRD COUNTRY PROCESSING WAS REMOVED DURING THE SUMMER OF 1985 BY A SPECIAL ALLOCATION OF REFUGEE NUMBERS. THERE IS, HOWEVER, A SIGNIFICANT NUMBER OF PEOPLE WHO ARE ELIGIBLE FOR REFUGEE STATUS BUT WHO HAVE BEEN UNABLE TO RECEIVE PASSPORTS FROM THE GOVERNMENT OF ROMANIA.

Question 6. In theory, the sizable Hungarian, German, Jewish, and other minorities enjoy the same rights as ethnic Romanians. Recently, however, these groups, especially the Hungarians, have been subjected to increasing discrimination. A program of "Romanianization" apparently continues, with university studies in Hungarian and German sharply curtailed. Libraries are removed from their ethnic regions, and provincial language schools have been closed. Please assess the current situation, its motivation, and the U.S.'s capacity to affect this process.

A. -- THE SITUATION VARIES FOR EACH GROUP.

-- GERMANS: OVER THE LAST TEN YEARS, ONE-THIRD OF THE ETHNIC GERMANS IN ROMANIA HAVE EMIGRATED TO THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC. SOME VILLAGES IN TRANSYLVANIA HAVE LITERALLY BECOME GHOST TOWNS. THERE HAS BEEN A CORRESPONDING DESCREASE IN GERMAN CULTURAL INSTITUTIONS. HOWEVER, 280,000 ETHNIC GERMANS REMAIN, AND WE REMAIN CONCERNED ABOUT THEIR ACCESS TO THE EDUCATION AND CULTURE OF THEIR ETHNIC HERITAGE.

-- JEWS: ALTHOUGH FEWER THAN 25,000 JEWS REMAIN IN ROMANIA, THEY MAINTAIN ACTIVE COMMUNITY INSTITUTIONS WHICH ARE IN PART SUBSIDIZED BY CONTRIBUTIONS FROM ISRAEL AND THE U.S. THEY ARE THE ONLY GROUP IN THE COUNTRY ALLOWED TO USE DIRECTLY FOREIGN FUNDS RECEIVED IN HARD CURRENCY.

-- HUNGARIANS: WE ARE CAREFULLY WATCHING ISSUES SUCH AS EDUCATIONAL POSSIBILITIES IN HUNGARIAN, PUBLICATION OF BOOKS AND PERIODICALS AND RADIO/TV BROADCASTING IN HUNGARIAN, AND THE VITALITY OF HUNGARIAN CULTURAL LIFE. THERE IS EVIDENCE OF RESTRICTION IN ALL OF

THESE AREAS. HOWEVER, U.S. ACTIONS IN THIS AREA ARE LESS RELEVANT TO THE PROBLEM THAN RELATIONS BETWEEN ROMANIA AND HUNGARY, AND WE LOOK TO THOSE GOVERNMENTS TO TAKE STEPS TO IMPROVE RELATIONS.

CEAUSESCU'S PERSONALITY CULT

Q. Many say that the "cult of personality" associated with Ceausescu has been taken to the extreme during the past year, and that Ceausescu's illness may have made him less than rational. In such a climate, many are not sanguine that any U.S. action can stem the tide of religious, cultural, and minority persecution. What is your assessment?

A. -- THE PREMISE OF THE QUESTION, CEAUSESCU'S POOR HEALTH DOES NOT SEEM WELL-FOUNDED.

-- NUMEROUS REPORTS OVER THE LAST TEN MONTHS THAT CEAUSESCU WAS SERIOUSLY ILL OR NEARING DEATH HAVE BEEN PROVEN WRONG. HE APPEARS VIGOROUS, ALERT, AND MAINTAINS A FULL SCHEDULE.

-- OVER THE LAST FIVE YEARS OR MORE, THE ROMANIAN "CULT OF PERSONALITY" HAS ADOPTED FORMS OF ADULATION WHICH WE, IN OUR SYSTEM, FIND UNATTRACTIVE AND CERTAINLY HARD TO COMPREHEND. BUT THERE IS NO QUESTION THAT CEAUSESCU REMAINS IN COMPLETE CONTROL, THAT DEALING WITH ROMANIA MEANS DEALING WITH HIM, AND THAT HIS DECISIONS WILL DETERMINE WHAT WE ARE ABLE TO ACCOMPLISH IN DEALING WITH ROMANIA.

ETHNIC AND NATIONALISTIC TENSIONS

Q. Has the worsening economic situation in Romania exacerbated lingering ethnic and nationalistic tensions? Is it possible that future economic difficulties will be associated with ethnic and cultural repression?

A. -- THERE IS SOME EVIDENCE THAT THE ECONOMIC SITUATION HAS EXACERBATED ETHNIC AND NATIONALISTIC TENSIONS FOR TWO REASONS. FIRST, THE AREA OF ROMANIA INHABITED BY THE HUNGARIAN MINORITY HAS TRADITIONALLY BEEN MORE PROSPEROUS ECONOMICALLY. SECONDLY, ALTHOUGH LIVING STANDARDS IN NEIGHBORING HUNGARY HAVE ALSO FALLEN IN RECENT YEARS, THE DECLINE HAS NOT BEEN NEARLY SO STEEP AS IN ROMANIA. THE RESULT IS A WIDENING GAP BETWEEN THE STANDARD OF LIVING BETWEEN HUNGARY AND ROMANIA. ROMANIA'S ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES MAY ACCOUNT, PARTIALLY, FOR REDUCED EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL SUPPORT TO THE COUNTRY'S ETHNIC MINORITIES, BUT THERE IS NO EVIDENCE THAT HUNGARIAN-ROMANIANS OR OTHER MINORITIES WILL BE USED AS SCAPEGOATS TO DIVERT THE PEOPLE'S ATTENTION FROM ECONOMIC PROBLEMS.

SUCCESS AND FAILURE IN HUMAN RIGHTS

Q. What are the examples of greatest success and most frustrating failure associated with American efforts to improve human rights conditions within Romania? What steps have been most effective? What actions are least effective?

A. -- AS ASSISTANT SECRETARY RIDGWAY MENTIONED IN HER STATEMENT, OUR GREATEST SUCCESS IS THE 150,000 ROMANIANS WHO HAVE EMIGRATED SINCE 1975. AMONG THE MANY FRUSTRATIONS ENCOUNTERED IN ADDRESSING ROMANIAN HUMAN RIGHTS, IT IS DIFFICULT TO SELECT ONE. CERTAINLY THE EXTENSION OF TOLERANCE TO UNRECOGNIZED RELIGIOUS DENOMINATIONS HAS NOT SEEN ANY SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS.

THE MOST EFFECTIVE ACTION IN SEEKING HUMAN RIGHTS IMPROVEMENT IS SPEAKING WITH A CLEAR, STEADY, PATIENT VOICE.

EMIGRATION AS FACTOR IN MFN DECISION?

Q. Is the President's decision to grant a waiver based upon an absolute criterion? For example, if we judge Romania's policies to be sufficiently "independent" of the USSR, does that mean that Romania gets the waiver, irrespective of its emigration performance? If not, how much does "independence" count -- 50%, 75%? How much does emigration count in the determination? Do we average performance on these two criteria in order to assess whether or not to go for the waiver?

A. -- THE JACKSON-VANIK AMENDMENT STATES THAT EMIGRATION IS THE CRITERIA FOR DETERMINING MFN. IT IS OBVIOUS IN TERMS OF OUR OVERALL RELATIONS WITH ROMANIA THAT THERE ARE OTHER POLICY CONSIDERATIONS, SUCH AS HUMAN RIGHTS AND FOREIGN POLICY CONCERNS AND WE TRY TO WORK ON ALL THESE AREAS.

OFFICE OF THE UNITED STATES
TRADE REPRESENTATIVE
EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON
20506

March 20, 1986

Senator Larry Pressler
Chairman, Subcommittee on European Affairs
Committee on Foreign Relations
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Mr. Chairman:

I was pleased to appear at the Committee's hearing on February 26 to testify on the trade effects of Most Favored Nation (MFN) status for Romania.

After the hearing, your staff presented a list of additional questions to me and Joseph Dennin, who testified for the Commerce Department. I have looked over the answers that Commerce has sent to you on these questions (enclosed). I find that there is little for me to add except the attached sheet which summarizes Romania's participation in the Generalized System of Preferences (GSP). Under the GSP program, duty free treatment on specific products is granted to designated beneficiary countries, including Romania.

If you or your staff have any additional questions on our trade with Romania, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Sincerely,

James M. Murphy, Jr.

Enclosure

U.S. Imports from Romania Benefitting from GSP Treatment

1985	$134.7 million
1984	81.9
1983	57.2
1982	54.5
1981	108.5
1980	85.3
1979	82.6
1978	50.3
1977	25.2
1976	20.0

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
International Trade Administration
Washington, D.C. 20230
ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR INTERNATIONAL
ECONOMIC POLICY

MAR 4 1986

Senator Larry Pressler
Chairman, Subcommittee on European
  Affairs
Committee on Foreign Relations
United States Senate
Washington, DC 20510

Dear Senator Pressler:

I am submitting written answers to the questions you supplied to my staff during the Wednesday, February 26 hearing on Romania's MFN status.

I was pleased to appear before the Subcommittee, and I hope my testimony and my answers to your questions have provided valuable information to you.

Sincerely,

Joseph Dennin

Enclosure

Answers Submitted by Joseph Dennin, Assistant Secretary for International Economic Policy, to Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on Europe

1. Question:

Romania has been the recipient of U.S. trade benefits for a decade since our Trade Agreement. What is the total dollar value of the various concessions granted to it, including, among others, MFN, preferential tariff treatment under the GATT, access to credits and credit guarantees or insurance extended under the Export-Import Bank, the Commodity Credit Corporation's credit facilities, OPIC operations, and bilateral trade agreements on tariff and non-tariff barriers, investment guarantees, and debt consolidation and rescheduling?

Answer:

While we cannot state precisely how much of the total Romanian exports to the United States since 1975 result from lower tariff rates, we know many of those exports would not be competitive in our market if higher column 2 rates were added to their prices. In the absence of MFN, we would estimate that $1.5-$2.5 billion of the approximately $5 billion of goods imported from Romania over the past 10 years would not have been sold in the United States. I am attaching a table which shows U.S.-Romanian trade during that period.

Some Romanian goods are imported under the Generalized System of Preferences (GSP) program of which Romania is a beneficiary because of its status as a developing country. Total imports from Romania under the GSP program from 1975 through 1985 were $700 million.

In conjunction with extension of MFN, Romania became eligible to utilize Eximbank (EXIM) and Commodity Credit Corporation (CCC) credits. The total utilization, including for guarantees, has been $500.3 million from Eximbank and $275.6 million from CCC. These credits have been strictly linked to U.S. exports and have supported over $1 billion in U.S. exports to Romania since 1975.

Although Exim and CCC, like all banks lending to Romania, had to reschedule portions of the 1982 and 1983 payments due, Romania currently is making its payments on time. Romania has neither requested nor received new credits from Eximbank or CCC since its debt crisis of 1981-1983. Exim has recently reopened small credit lines (roughly $17 million) for guarantees to support U.S. sales to Romania.

2. Question:

How has the dollar value of these various concessions changed since 1975 in real terms? Has it increased? if so, by what percentage?

Answer:

We cannot be precise about the changes in the dollar value of Romanian benefits since 1975. Romanian utilization of U.S. Government credit and credit guarantee programs peaked in 1980, and has been declining since then. President Ceausescu has made the elimination of Romania's hard currency debt Romania's top priority since the debt crisis of 1981. Consequently, Romanian trading organizations have not taken on additional liabilities and are unlikely to do so in the near future. Radical dollar fluctuations since 1975 also make an accurate estimate difficult.

3. Question:

In your view, what are the benefits to the U.S. of extending MFN to Romania? Are the returns justified almost entirely in political terms?

Answer:

Significant emigration has resulted, along with other political benefits to the United States from extending MFN. The United States has also reaped significant economic and commercial benefits as well. Since granting MFN to Romania, U.S. companies have exported over $3.5 billion in goods to Romania. These exports have generated, on average, almost 9,000 jobs per year with a high of 18,000 jobs in 1980. Moreover, without MFN U.S. companies would not have had access to the Romanian market during this period; since the granting of MFN in 1975 over 30 American companies have established offices in Romania. The goods that the United States purchased from Romania probably would have been imported from other countries otherwise. Thus, the overall effect has been a net increase in U.S. exports, while our overall imports have risen little, if any.

Granting MFN to Romania has had other economic benefits for the United States as well. It has helped Romania to maintain a greater degree of economic independence from the Soviet Union. More than fifty percent of Romania's trade is with the West, while for the other East European countries, about 65 percent of their trade is with the Soviet bloc. MFN has contributed to integrating Romania more fully into the world trading system, encouraging the observation of the rules and obligations of that system.

4. Question:

Please compare and contrast the total dollar value of Romania's trade with the U.S. as compared with Romania's trade with the rest of Eastern Europe and the USSR over the past decade. Is Romania's trade with non-market states increasing? If so, by what percentage?

Answer:

Romania's diverse pattern of trade is unique for an East European country. It has evolved since the early 1960s because of Romania's refusal to be the agrarian base of the CMEA and its desire to industrialize rapidly its economy. Generally, Romania is less dependent on the Soviet Union for imports and more dependent upon Western export markets than other East European countries.

Overall, Romania's trade is as follows (1984 data) :

Country	$ Billion	Percentage
World	$21.9	100%
Socialist Countries	10.3	47
(of which USSR)	4.8	22
Industrial West	5.4	25
(of which USA)	1.0	5
Developing Countries	6.2	28

Romania's chief exports to the United States are refined petroleum products such as gasoline and naphtha. Other items it exports include: finished steel products, textiles and footwear. Leading imports from the United States in recent years have been coal, hides, turbine generators and energy technology, and fertilizers.

In contrast, Romania's main exports to the USSR are machinery, textiles and agricultural commodities. Romania imports mostly raw materials (including iron ore, metals, oil and gas and cotton) and consumer goods from the USSR.

The share of Romania's total trade conducted with socialist countries grew in the 1981-1983 period. This shift in trade was due largely to Romania's restraint by 40 percent of imports from hard-currency markets and not due to a significant increase in Romania's volume of trade with socialist countries. The trade pattern of the late 1970s, with shares divided equally between socialist, capitalist and developing countries is the one for which Romanians authorities have expressed preference; since 1983 trends have been towards a return to it. Therefore, we do not believe there is a tendency towards increased trade between Romania and socialist countries.

5. Question:

Assuming that Romania can maintain its share of Western markets, Wharton projects that its exports to non-socialist countries will increase by 39.8 percent by 1990 (in nominal terms). At the same time, its imports, starting from a relatively low base of $4.4 billion in 1984) could increase by 86 percent by 1990 (again, in nominal terms). Do you agree with this projection? If so, what percentage of that increase would occur in U.S.-Romanian trade?

Answer:

The Commerce Department believes there will be strong growth in both Romanian imports and exports, which is consistent with the Wharton projections. However, the Wharton projections are based on very broad assumptions which, in our view, pose serious questions about their validity. For example, by assuming constant prices, the Wharton projections do not take account of a recent decline in the price of oil of over 50 percent. Oil is a major item in both imports and exports for Romania.

Current export levels are straining the Romanian economy and will not likely rise until a year or so after a large increase in imports. Current Romanian credit obligations and policies suggest that a vast surge in imports, which would fuel the economy and increase exports, is also at least a year away. Consequently, we do not think growth in trade by 1990 will reach the high rates suggested by Wharton.

Based on what the Romanians have told us in bilateral meetings, we do expect the annual level of U.S. exports to Romania to at least double, over 1985 levels, by 1990, in line with Romania's continued financial recovery. This improvement should compare favorably to possible increases in other OECD country exports. U.S. exports during the last two years have been unusually low, in large part because of the strength of the dollar, but with the dollar's depreciation U.S. companies should recapture lost sales. Romanian exports to the United States, on the other hand, are not likely to grow significantly in the next two years, due to developments such as (a) a recent voluntary restraint agreement which will limit Romanian exports of steel to the United States and (b) the prices of Romanian oil product exports are expected to be much lower this year than last.

6. Question:

Were MFN to be cut off, given the perilous state of the Romanian economy, what effects might we expect to see develop? For example, would the economy suffer permanent damage? How seriously would the civilian sector be affected?

Answer:

The Romanian economy would not suffer permanent damage, because of the loss of MFN. There would be short term disruptions in Romanian trade and industry, but adjustments would be made within 1-2 years. Romania would sell about $200-300 million less in the U.S. market without MFN, but after a short time a large proportion of these goods could be redirected to other markets. Similarly, Romania could redirect sourcing of its imports currently bought from the United States. Agricultural products have constituted about two-thirds of U.S. exports in recent years. The commodities involved, primarily soybean products, grains and cattle hides, are all easily available on world markets. Most of these commodities are in oversupply and could be obtained from other suppliers at little or no additional cost to the Romanians. The remaining U.S. exports - raw materials, chemical products and equipment for power plants could also be purchased elsewhere, albeit with slightly more difficulty.

7. Question:

Romania's extensive growth and energy-intensive strategy of the 1970's has proven inappropriate for the 1980s. Their lack of reform and continued low priority to consumer goods availability places them at odds with the policies of other CMEA countries. Should the U.S. attempt to influence the Romanian industrial strategy and encourage economic reform? What can be done to reverse the economic deterioration? Will it inevitably become a ward of the Soviets?

Answer:

Yes, The U.S. Government should continue to try and influence Romanian economic policies. Secretary Baldrige has discussed our views with senior Romanian officials during meetings of the Joint American-Romanian Economic Commission (JEC) and other occasions. Under Secretary Smart will reiterate our concerns at the Interim Session of the JEC in April.

We believe the Romanian economy could benefit from a more balanced allocation of resources in favor of the agriculture and light industry sectors, on one hand, and away from heavy industry on the other. Romania's comparative advantage lies in its agricultural sector, which is starved for additional investment. Moreover, we have told the Romanians a more decentralized economic decision-making process would have significant beneficial results. We strongly support Romanian adherence to IMF guidelines which encourage decentralization and rationalization of economic decisions. Romania needs sound economic policies to maintain its distance from the Soviet Union.

Granting MFN to Romania has helped develop strong trade ties with the West, which have, in turn, helped Romania maintain a greater degree of economic independence from the U.S.S.R. Implementing some of our suggestions would promote Romanian economic strength and, therefore, contribute to Romania's economic viability. The loss of MFN might result in Romania redirecting some of its trade with the United States towards the Soviet Union.

8. Question:

From a largely agrarian economy, Romania has reached its present semi-industrialized state by maintaining extremely high rates of industrial investment financed by earnings in agriculture and the petroleum industry, and also by foreign borrowing and restricting consumption. As a result, the national economy has continued to confront rising costs, energy shortages, and stringent efforts by the Government to reduce the country's foreign debt as quickly as possible. Both agriculture and industry have suffered noticeably during the last few years, due to a lack of needed imports. Are American agricultural and industrial exports critical to the Romanian economy?

Answer:

In response to your question, American agricultural and industrial exports are not critical to the Romanian economy. While some things which we supply are the best worldwide, almost everything the Romanians buy from the United States could be replaced by purchases from our international competitors.

9. Question:

Romanian trade officials remain under instructions to limit hard-currency imports and generally to require that Western firms concluding sales contracts with Romania accept payment in counter-purchase of Romanian goods. In such a climate, what is the return to the U.S.-Romanian trade?

Answer:

- While countertrade is often a difficult form of trade for inexperienced companies, most of the U.S. firms which undertake countertrade in Romania profit by it. Many companies that do countertrade with Romania end up selling the Romanian goods they receive in overseas markets; only sometimes are these goods sold in the United States. In either case the U.S. exporter gets paid and normally profits.

The U.S. government views countertrade as a distortive trading practice which can cause inefficient production and purchase decisions; we discourage it. However, the U.S. government does not interfere in the business decisions of private firms.

Prepared By: Commerce/ITA/IEP/EUR/OEESA/EED
377-2645
March 4, 1986

U.S.-ROMANIAN TRADE: 1970-85
(Millions of Dollars)

	1970	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985
U.S. EXPORTS (fas)	66.4	189.3	249.1	259.4	317.4	500.5	720.3	503.9	223.2	185.7	246.2	206.5
U.S. IMPORTS (cif)	13.4	133.0	198.8	233.3	346.6	329.3	339.7	611.6	370.7	552.8	973.6	949.7
TRADE BALANCE	53.0	56.3	51.1	26.1	-29.2	171.2	380.6	-107.7	-147.5	-367.1	-727.4	-743.3
TOTAL TRADE TURNOVER	79.8	322.3	447.8	492.7	664.0	829.8	1060.0	1115.5	593.9	738.5	1,219.8	1156.2

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Washington Representative

ANSWERS TO WRITTEN QUESTIONS

SUBMITTED FOR THE RECORD BY JERI LABER

SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE

HUMAN RIGHTS IN ROMANIA

3) It is our understanding that the new agreements reached between the United States and Romania on emigration procedures have principally affected recent applicants for emigration. According to the State Department, the new procedures have served to prevent an increase in the already large number of Romanians (officially tabulated at between 1,300 and 2,000) who have their exit documents but do not qualify for entry into the United States, and are subject to severe sanctions and harassment. These new agreements, however, are not in any way related to the backlog in admissions.

6) The minority groups in Romania often say that they live under a double burden: the burden of repression in a totalitarian state, and the burden of discrimination stemming from Romanian chauvinism and an official policy of "Romanianization." The Hungarian minority claims that the government is engaged in a deliberate policy of "cultural genocide." It seems evident that the

minorities are adversely affected by the Ceausescu regime's extremely chauvinistic propaganda, and that they have been targetted for particular discrimination, official harassment and even physical abuse.

The closing of Hungarian cultural institutions and universities, the demolition of Hungarian churches, the harassment and sometimes brutal treatment of Hungarian religious and cultural leaders, the decreasing opportunities for children to study the Hungarian language -- all of these reflect the Romanian government's effort to assimilate forcibly the Hungarian minority. Given such a situation, the U.S. should make the continuation of Most Favored Nation status for Romania contingent on the removal of restrictions aimed at suppressing the cultural identity of the Hungarian and other minorities.

7) The United States is unlikely to be able to change either the "cult of personality" associated with President Ceausescu or the repressive nature of the Ceausescu regime, but given the severe economic problems facing Romania today, the suspension of MFN might be the only means available to jolt the government into action in the area of human rights.

8) The obvious example of a successful American effort to improve human rights in Romania involved the Education tax of 1983. Due largely to U.S. pressure and serious threats to withdraw MFN from Romania if the Education tax was put into effect, the tax was never implemented. Unfortunately, such successful efforts are extremely rare. The failures of U.S. policy to effect human rights improvements in Romania can be

measured by the deplorable state of internationally recognized human rights in that country.

10) The worsening economic situation in Romania has seriously affected the lives of all Romanian citizens, with the possible exception of the party and state leaders. Economic deprivation is often accompanied by greater political repression, because governments are fearful of popular protests. In the case of Romania, ethnic and nationalistic repression would also follow.

EXCERPTED FROM
RADIO FREE EUROPE RESEARCH BULLETIN

1. Plans to Resettle Some Pensioners in the Countryside

Summary: *The idea of resettling an undisclosed number of retired people to the countryside came up in Nicolae Ceausescu's speech before the People's Councils' congress on 11 September 1985. Although no specific reason was given, this could be an attempt to banish older critics of the government, a move that would have the added advantage of relieving some of the overcrowding in major cities.*

* * *

In his closing speech to the Third Congress of the People's Councils in Bucharest on September 11, Romanian party and state chief Nicolae Ceausescu proclaimed that his country would reach new heights of progress and civilization on its way toward "the golden society of communism." At the same time, he announced a startling plan for resettling an undisclosed number of retired people to the countryside, an area well known for its desolation. Ceausescu spoke of developing "good housing and living conditions" for "some" pensioners, "enabling them to develop a certain useful activity or to preserve their mental and physical health."[1]

Rumors coming from Romania said that Ceausescu had been considering the scheme for as long as a year. The move appears to be largely designed to relieve some of the pressure the economic crisis has exerted in the big cities in terms of food, housing, and energy shortages.

Not one to flinch from extreme measures, Ceausescu is said to have contemplated a similarly drastic course of action some years ago. At that time, he decided that there were too many dogs in Bucharest and other towns, consuming food that could just as well be eaten by humans. Given the dwindling food supply, he was then said to have contemplated ordering a massive campaign to eliminate dogs but in the end contented himself with an increase in the pet tax.[2] The country's food crisis, however, proved more serious than something an elimination of dogs could cure. While Romanian officials avoided admitting it, Western sources regularly described the details of the pervasive food shortages.[3]

So far as the resettling of retired people is concerned, one should note that Ceausescu could only promise them the "possibility" of good housing facilities and not immediate proper and adequate housing. Secondly, he said that these old people would be given an opportunity to engage in useful activities. Given the recent draft law that would extend the age limit for compulsory labor to everyone over 18, it seems likely that this is Ceausescu's polite way of saying that the elderly will be expected to work in the new communes.[4] One also wonders if his solicitous attitude toward the pensioners' physical and mental health is genuine in light of the poor state of medical care for the elderly in the countryside as well as in the cities. News coming from Romania indicates that hospital admissions for old people are, in fact, either hopelessly delayed or refused outright.

A Public Security Move? Since Ceausescu evidently wants to resettle only "some" unspecified groups of pensioners, one wonders if this selective approach will be directed at removing elderly critics of the regime. The most vocal elements in this category might be the old party and state activists forced into early retirement after Ceausescu's advent to power in 1965 and who might still begrudge the loss of their former positions. Even though Ceausescu regularly praises the merits and political role of the old activists, the present officialdom repeatedly makes its distance from them discernible.[5]

The Pensioners in General. The latest available figures show that Romania has more than 3,000,0000 pensioners, of whom some 1,600,000 are former white- and blue-collar workers; some 1,200,000 former agricultural cooperative members; and about 155,000 private peasants.[6] Ceausescu's move is directed at the first category.

The retired people represent a significant economic burden on the country's work force of about 7,600,000. The weight of this burden will increase as the population ages and the number of people above the age of 60 increases. In 1950 1,400,000 people, or 9% of the population, were 60 or older; by 1983 the number had risen to 3,100,000 people, or 13.84% of the total population. It is estimated that by the year 2025, those over 60 will comprise 20% of Romania's total population.[6]

The Big Towns. Ceausescu said that he intends to resettle some of the pensioners from the big towns. This category could include 11 towns, each with more than 200,000 inhabitants: Bucharest (2,200,000); Brasov, Constanta, Iasi, and Timisoara (each with about 300,000); and Braila, Craiova, Oradea, and Ploesti (each with about 200,000). An additional 10 towns with between 100,000 and 200,000 include: Arad, Bacau, Baia-Mare, Buzau, Piatra-Neamt, Pitesti, Resita, Tirgul-Mures, Satu-Mare and Sibiu.

An Assessment. Ceausescu's new move is rare even in the communist world. It quite clearly infringes upon the elementary right of a people to free choice of residence, which Romania pledged to observe by signing the 1975 Helsinki Final Act and other international instruments.

Paul Gafton

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[1] Radio Bucharest, 11 September 1985, 7:00 PM

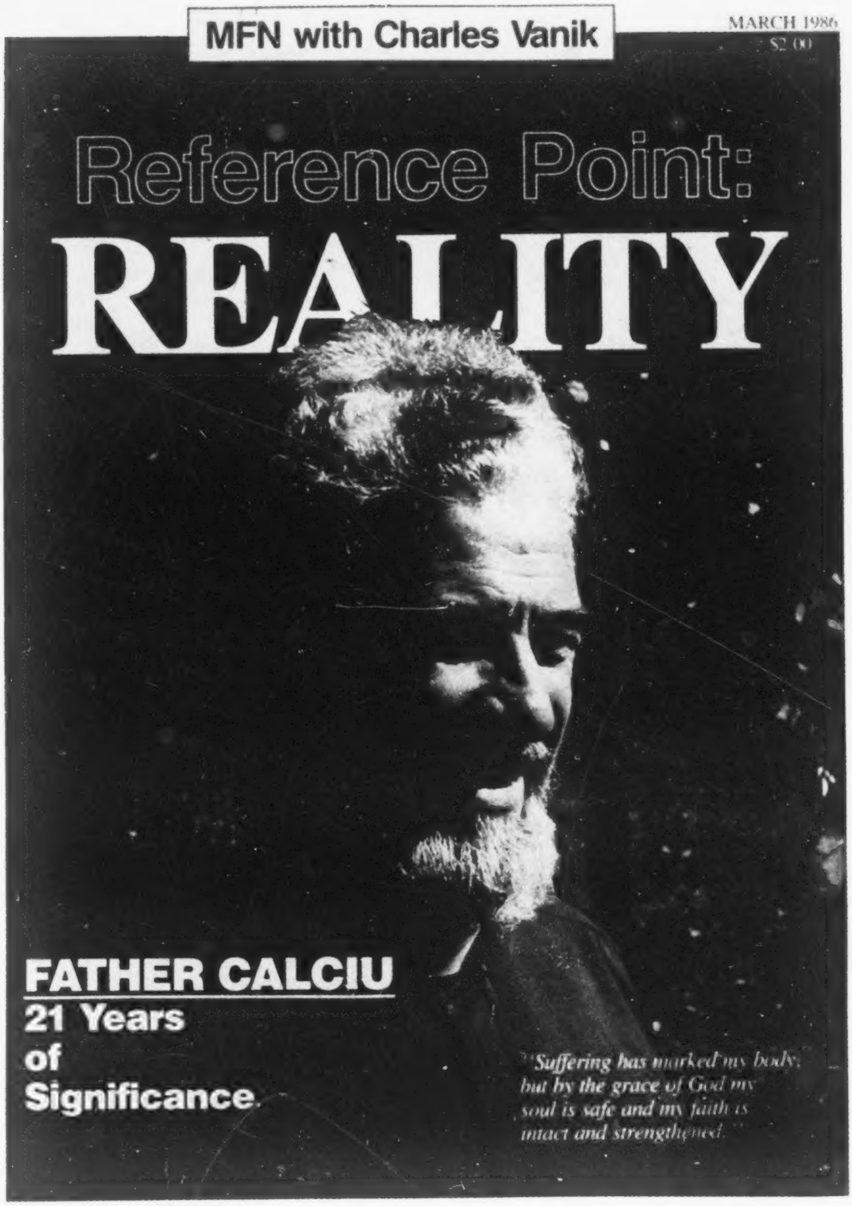
2 *Biuletinul Oficial al RSR, Partea I-a*, no. 118, 31 December 1981, Decree No. 425.

3 See, for example, Reuter (Bucharest), 21 June 1985; *The Washington Post*, 7 September 1985.

4 *Scinteia*, 27 August 1985.

5 See, for instance, the short death notices of Avram Bunaciu, former Romanian Minister of Justice (1957-1958) and Minister of Foreign Affairs (1958-1961), and of Ofelia Manole Party Secretary of the Bucharest Region (1954) and Councillor with the Ministry of Health (1951), both put into the papers by their former comrades no longer in power (*Romania Libera*, 3 May 1983).

6 Emil Bobu's speech in *Romania Libera*, 20 December 1980; Ceausescu's speech as reported by Radio Bucharest, 6 April 1981; *Anuarul Statistic al RSR 1984* (Bucharest: Directia Centrala de Statistica, 1985), pp. 20-21; and "Aging in the ECE Region: Selected Aspects" in *The Journal of the UN Economic Commission for Europe* (New York: Pergamon Press, 1985), p. 153.



MFN with Charles Vanik

MARCH 1986

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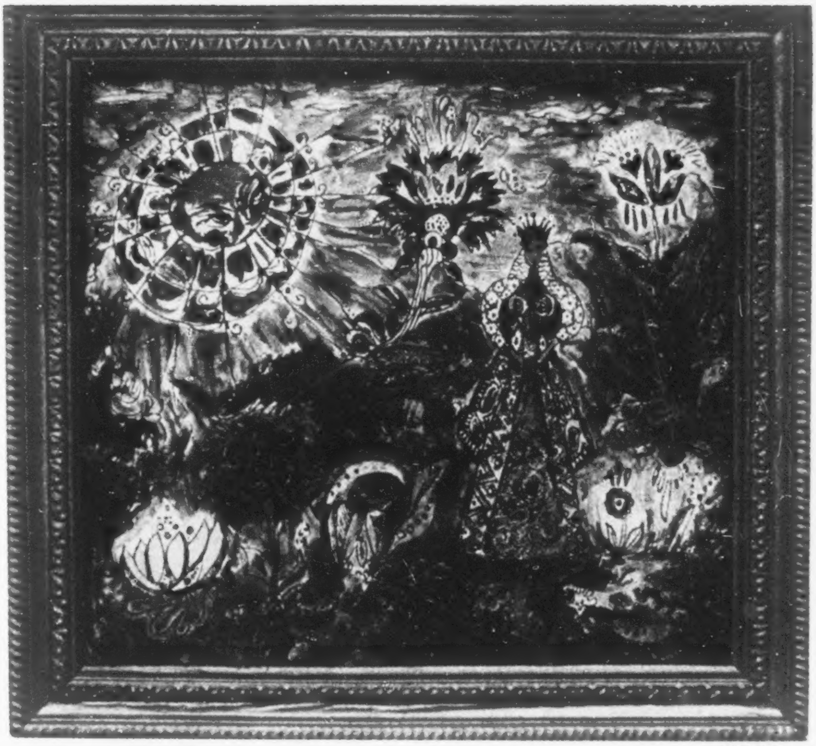
FATHER CALCIU

21 Years of Significance.

"Suffering has marked my body; but by the grace of God my soul is safe and my faith is intact and strengthened.



Maria Lazar

GLASS PAINTING

Glass painting, and especially behind the glass painting, is an art form which was practiced throughout Romania as early as the 16th century and was especially popular in the Transylvania Region during the 1800's and the early part of this century. The artists, in a quest to preserve their spiritual yearnings, found that the transparency of the glass seemed to provide the feeling of the instant, while its strength spoke of the endurance of the faith.

Today Christian artist Maria Lazar from Iasi carries on the tradition of behind the glass painting with a contemporary work of foils and transparent colors wherein the church, clothed in splendor, draws her life from the sun and stands triumphantly in a garden of believers as varied as the flowers of her native Moldavia.

REALITY Vol. 1, Issue 1

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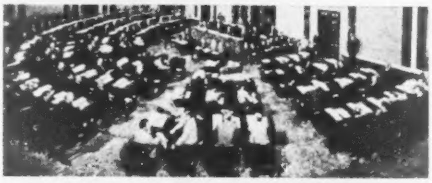

MFN—
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General Editors: Amy Tuttle, Christine Payer
Contributors: Dr. Ernest Gordon,
Father Gheorghe Calciu Dumitreasa
Dr. Earl Pope, Mother Alexandra

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MFN
An Interview with Charles Vanik

By John Crossley

"The extension of Most Favored Nation status or non discriminatory trade status to Romania is an impassioned issue and one which has been kept keenly in the public view largely through the workings of the Jackson-Vanik amendment to the 1975 trade act and the Congressional oversight which it provided. We are especially thankful to Charles Vanik, co-author of the amendment for granting us this interview and sharing with us the insights and creativity which brought the "Emigration Act" into reality.

Mr. Crossley – Mr Vanik, could you tell us something of the original concept of MFN, and the purpose of nondiscriminatory trade status?

Mr. Vanik – MFN has been with us a long time. It started in the mid fifties as part of the reciprocal trade agreement wherein we decided to give certain countries our best trade arrangements. It was a plan by which we gave those nations which provided interchange of agreements which were satisfactory to us the best deal or the same deal which we extended to everyone else. All of these things have followed after other preferences. We have had a Continental, a Canadian, a Mexican, and a Caribbean preference. These were established in many forms as a series of laws which provide special trade treatments. In addition, we have a system of preferences especially for Latin American and African countries. We exempt from tariffs most developing countries in the Free World. We have recently granted to the state of Israel complete Free Market preference. Things flow from our two countries free of tariff. There is in effect a mountain of legislation building which deals with trade and would have to be explored in any depth at the library of Congress.

Mr. Crossley – At which point did you become involved with MFN? What precipitated the Jackson-Vanik amendment?

Mr. Vanik – Jackson-Vanik started with the 1974 trade act. However, I should tell you some other things I have been involved with. I have been involved in all kinds of immigration problems. I have dealt with a lot of Italian immigration, as well as Polish immigration to my community for the short time that Poland was open. In 1956 I was involved with the Hungarian Freedom Fighters. I helped them relocate at Camp Kelmer, and a great many came to Cleveland, Ohio. In 1972, I started my real work on the Jackson-Vanik amendment. It was really born in the House of Representatives. I remember having extensive debates with Jerry Ford when I put the amendment on to an appropriations bill. He felt in 1972, that it was a good idea, but he had his own way to do it. By 1974, however, we came into Congress with 185 co-sponsors of the amendment, and when we went onto the floor with the bill, we were able to work out Title V, which is the Freedom of Emigration amendment. I always had the opinion that the bill should have a broader concept. It developed more and more as a bill that was designed to take care of the problem of Jewish emigration from Eastern Europe.

Mr. Crossley – Was that its original purpose?

Mr. Vanik – No, that was just one of the original concepts. But I always felt that this right of emigration should be applicable to everyone. I had a lot of people in my area who came from the Baltic states, and after WWII very often the husband would be in the West and the family would be still in the East. Meanwhile, the lines froze, and some of these families had not had reconciliation for 40 years. These were people who had done nothing—they were not political people; very often they had been moved around like chess pieces, as the changing tides of war moved them here and there, often to the West, and after the war they could not be reunited with their families unless they gave up their Western life. They stayed in the West to earn money for their families, and their only family life became one of obligation. There was practically no hope of reconciliation. Over time, and largely because the Jewish ethnic community was a much more definable group, the amendment has worked to bring thousands and thousands of Jewish people out of Romania.

The Jewish Community in Romania at present is quite small. One reason is that the young people are leaving while the elderly stay. One of the problems the government has had with this is that the young people very often wait until they have their education before applying to leave. That is what led to the education tax a few years back. They have a real problem with this as they feel the young people have had the benefit of the educational process and then have not returned anything to the country.

Mr. Crossley – The problem I recall was that the tax was assessed in foreign currency, which was illegal for the citizen to have.

Mr. Vanik – It was really a way of buying out. It was a harsh and rather stupid way to proceed. The problem was that many people were taking advantage of the education, and it lead to the unwise and rash action in which they imposed this education tax. When I first started dealing with the problems of emigration in 1972, Israel had a departure tax, and when that came to light, the Knessett met very quickly and eliminated their departure tax—which was quite substantial for trained people leaving Israel. This only shows a little of the feeling which governments have about training people who depart.

MFN at work: *Beni Cocar and Ion Stef with Dr. Ernest Gordon.*

Mr. Crossley – So you obviously felt that the Trade Act of 1974 needed to address the problem of emigration?

Mr. Vanik – Yes, but you have to remember that we were coming out of a Watergate Syndrome and with the 1974 trade act the President had the authority to decide which countries would receive MFN status, and he gave that determination to Poland and Yugoslavia. He did not give it to Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Romania, Russia, or China.

The Chinese were rather frivolous about this amendment. I remember being in China early on and being told, "Don't worry about your amendment, Mr. Vanik. We'll give you 5,000,000 Chinese." But you should try to get one specific family out. It is quite another story. You have a lot of trouble and there are many of people who would like to leave China for America.

The important thing about Jackson-Vanik is that it brought Congress into the process. Congress was claiming back some of the power it had lost. The loss of power goes back a long way—back to the Roosevelt years but this amendment was a part of this reclamation that significantly and historically marks a milestone of the effort of Congress to retain some of its lost power in the critical area of trade. My theory was that if we gave people such benefits, we ought to try to get a little humanity out of them, and make that a condition. It was never my intention that it should eliminate trade, but that it should be a bargaining position. As a matter of fact, at one point in 1975 or 1976, when we thought that the Soviets had accepted the concept, I remember being at the White House with President Ford, Henry Kissinger and Senator Jackson when we were led to believe that the Soviets had decided to try to live with this amendment. But then an amendment developed for trade restraint known as the Stevenson amendment, which made the whole thing more complex and the Soviets backed off. But many people believed that Jackson-Vanik had a great deal to do with the liberalized emigration from the Soviet Union, which blossomed to a high level of 55,000 in 1979—this was a landmark point. They were highly trained and valuable people. The Romanian situation is analagous. The single largest portion of Jewish emigration from the East has come from Romania.

Mr. Crossley – How, in 1983, did the Chada vs Ins. Supreme Court decision effect Jackson-Vanik? Did that again delete some of the powers of Congress?

Mr. Vanik – That had the effect of obscuring, as Congress has never rewritten its powers around that decision. But the administration made the statement that for all intents and purposes it would respect the congressional process. The decision put a cloud over the power of Congress, but the administration said that it would continue to operate under the same process. In that regard the Congress still has the power to withdraw MFN.

Mr. Crossley – Are you aware of the legislation introduced to suspend MNF to Romania?

Mr. Vanik – Yes, I am, but I am not aware of the specifics. I do know that much of the opposition to MFN for Romania has come from some of the various ethnic communities. As you are aware, Romania is made up of several different groups, including Germans and Hungarians. The German minority is moving out. It's interesting in this regard how the Jackson-Vanik amendment has had an international effect. The Germans have taken the trade and used the Jackson-Vanik amendment to get their people relocated from Romania! Other countries have used the amendment to see their particular ethnic groups relocated. The Germans had tremendous trade with Romania which they never intended to halt for any reason. But when Jackson-Vanik came along they used the amendment to see their people relocated. A good part of the efforts to cancel MFN to Romania have come through the various ethnic communities. Of course, Romania is not a country which is up to our standards of freedom. It is a Communist country and a very closely run country. There is no apology for that, with the one exception that this country has provided most of the flow of emigration; and the law has in that capacity worked better in Romania than in most other places.

Mr. Crossley – You mentioned earlier that you felt from the beginning that Jackson-Vanik should have been broader in its scope. Does that mean you felt it should have dealt more specifically with Human Rights problems, and do you feel that such an amendment would be possible?

Mr. Vanik - We felt that emigration was the basic Human Right.

Mr. Crossley - Senator Jackson in his 1983 testimony before the Senate Finance Committee members said that Jackson-Vanik provided a ''minimum right of last resort'' wherein persecuted peoples could at least leave their society if they could not endure. And yet some, especially with regards to emigration to Israel, would feel that emigration is a basic right of priority; whereas other ethnic groups, in particular certain Christian groups, do not want to leave their country, and would choose to emigrate only as a last resort. With such a diversity of thought, could there not be legislation to help relieve the pressures that would force people to leave their homeland?

Mr. Vanik - Well, it's true that God's people should be allowed to live where they want to, but in reality it just doesn't operate that way in the world. Only in the Western world do we find so much possibility. This is in effect our goal—the right of people to move freely in the world. In the case of Romania, they have always had to be nudged, and the law made them. It would not have happened without it, and if there is any case for the validity of the amendment, it is with Romania—there would not have been emigration without the law and now they are probably condemning life without it. They feel unable to plan around a one year law and many feel that the review process should be two, three or four years so as to allow for substantial planning. I think there is a lot of merit to that.

Mr. Crossley - Do you feel that amendments to suspend MFN could be doing a disservice to the people it was designed to help?

Mr. Vanik - I would like to leave it as it is or try to look at some other agreements. It might help to clear up some of the problems. Most of the people with whom I have spoken, both here and in Romania, feel that this law has been a great instrument for good. It has provided a way to peacefully pry at the problems of emigration

Mr. Crossley - Could you imagine other measures that the Congress or the Administration could take in dealing with specific Human Rights cases?

Mr. Vanik - I have not been involved in the process for some time now, but I think there is a lot that could be done and I should like to give it some thought! I am sure that there are things that can be done and these are the avenues which need to be explored.■

Window Shopper: *Would suspension of MFN make life even more difficult for the Romanian people?*

"My voice is not enough and will have to be multiplied by your hundreds of voices."

Fr. Calciu with his family *in freedom in Bucks County.*

FATHER CALCIU:

A LIVING TESTAMENT

By Todd Payer

Father Gheorghe Calciu Dumitreasa has sealed in the hearts of many Romanians the hope and power of the resurrection life of Jesus Christ. He has awakened the souls of many to the voice which calls us, not the voice of a dead man, but the voice of One Who has risen from the dead—Jesus, Who calls to us from the depths of our own being.

Calciu, short in stature, but robust and full of vitality, was the last born to a peasant family of thirteen in Mahmudia, Romania, a small town on the Danube Delta, on November 23, 1925. Although as peasants Calciu's family lived meagerly, their spiritual life was rich. His mother, a strong Orthodox believer of a simple faith, but a faith that sanctified her whole nature, transmitted this faith to all her children, which took special favor in Father Calciu. On this primitive basis Father Calciu built his entire cultural and theological lecture.

Calciu's medical studies at the University of Bucharest, which began in 1946, were abruptly interrupted in 1948, when he was arrested due to his involvement with an illegal religious student group founded on the principles of Christian sacrifice, benevolence, and love for one's fellow man. Consequent to their protest against both communism in general and the introduction of the U.T.C. (Union of Communist Youth), which was designed to bring politics into the universities and high schools, Calciu, together with about 7000 other students and leaders of the classical political parties in Romania, was summarily arrested and charged with "fascist-terrorist crimes", a charge the authorities applied indiscriminately to opponents of the communist dictatorship. They were given sentences of between five years and life in prison according to the influence they demonstrated in society.

Calciu was given a 15 year sentence, most of which was spent in the notorious prisons of Jilava, Aiud, and Calea Rahovei. The prison experience in Jilava was torturous. One hundred prisoners, confined to a cell ten feet square, deprived of oxygen, and allowed only one cup of water a day each, would routinely be beaten and obscenely insulted.

Calciu was transferred to a prison in Pitesti, where he was subjected to a bitter "re-education" experiment based on an ancient Russian indoctrination process, as recorded in a book by a certain Makarenko, entitled *The Pedogogical Poem*. The experiment was designed to destroy the ideals and morality of the prisoners through the use of barbaric physical and psychological tortures; in Calciu's case, however, it was unsuccessful.

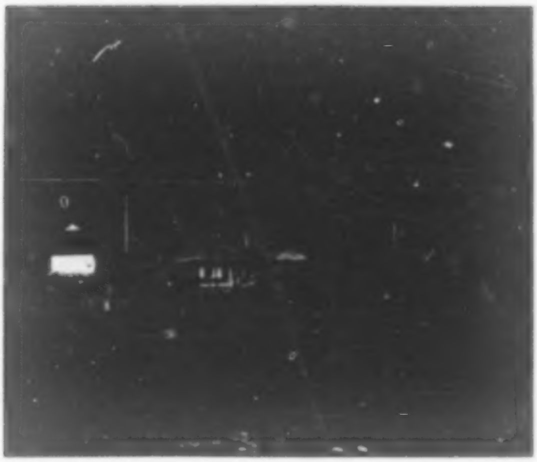
Because of their marked influence on the youth, Calciu and fifteen others were sent back to Jilava for extermination. But Romania was seeking admission into the United Nations at this time, and government leaders feared unfavorable repercussions, should rumor of their maltreatment of prisoners transpire to Western powers. Prison authorities thus attempted to create apparently natural causes for prisoners' deaths by confining prisoners to cells seven meters beneath ground level, devoid of any light, heat, or even air. Returning from their daily beatings, they could only find refuge on their water-soaked and molding straw mattresses. During the three years of this inhumane treatment, six of the fifteen died. Calciu was one of the few who survived, and this draconian experience, compounded by what friends describe as repentance for his all too human vunerability in temporarily breaking down under torture, deepened his religious vocation. Father Calciu recalls, "We were subjected to unimaginable suffering. And because we were put in contact with a satanic philosophy and attitude, we were obliged to give an answer to this we were obliged to give an answer to this philosophy, and it was impossible to adopt any other philosophy than that of Christianity. Many of us were already believers, but through this suffering, our faith became a practical faith."

During the last year of his imprisonment, Calciu performed manual labor on a state farm until July 20, 1964, when former Romanian president Gheorghe Gheorghiu Dej gave amnesty to all political prisoners. Upon his release, rather than resuming his medical studies, due to his age of 38 years, Calciu entered the French faculty. Later, seeking an opportunity to defend religious freedom as a guarantee of human liberty, and desiring to awaken the Romanian people to the spiritual life which gives meaning and purpose to human existence, he managed to secretly complete his theological studies. Subsequently, Calciu married Adriana Dumitreasa, to whom his only son, Andrei, was born. After being ordained a priest in 1972, he was appointed to a junior teaching position in New Testament studies at the Bucharest Theological Seminary.

Father Calciu's work as a religious teacher is to be seen against the background of the deepening social and moral crises that Romania has been experiencing for over a decade, of the regime's unrelenting enforcement of restrictions on religious life, and the failure of the Orthodox hierarchy to perform its duty in reasserting the perennial religious values that the regime's discredited ideology had sought to displace. Challenging the hierarchy's submissiveness to the atheist state and reflecting growing stirrings among the lower Orthodox clergy, Fr. Calciu undertook in his teachings to encourage the Romanian society to sustain religious values in the face of the authorities' ideological pressures; he called on the Orthodox clergy to stand up to the existing restrictions and to work to reopen areas of religious life that had been closed by the regime.

Because his students were aspiring for something higher and purer than they had, Fr. Calciu readily gained their sympathy. He preached to them Jesus and Christianity in a new manner, as they had never heard before, purifying the study of the New Testament and Christianity of all materialistic principles and methods. The main themes of Father Calciu's teachings were set forth in a series of seven sermons delivered in an historic Bucharest church in the Spring of 1978; they were specifically addressed to the youth, yet attracted audiences of students and intellectuals of all ages. In his sermons, Fr. Calciu challenged his listener's homage to the materialistic ideology which believes that authoritarian demands need no proof and that authoritarianism supplants faith. He invited them to enter the church of Christ to learn their role in life and the purpose of their existence. Fr. Calciu claimed, "As every materialist concept states, the poles of our existence stretch between life and death. We are destined to be born and die as a mere caprice of nature, or as a simple joke of passion. We must follow the law of necessity and quantity which through some miracle becomes quality, and we must accept this as the only law governing our life and death. It is forbidden to believe in the resurrection." Fr. Calciu proposed, however, that "Death is our single possibility for resurrection. And without resurrection, both life and death become nonsense – absurdities. The love of God is the guarantee of our resurrection, and the resurrection is the fundamental of our faith in God and Jesus Christ, His Son. He Who died, the Same has also risen, and those who saw Him testified to the fact because they sealed it with their own suffering and death." Fr. Calciu asserts that we must accept, through faith, that Jesus died and was raised from the dead; therefore we, too, may be saved and raised again with Him and His Church to a new life in the Kingdom to come.

In rare passages departing from spiritual and moral problems to address specific issues of political concern, Fr. Calciu appeals to the Orthodox Church hierarchy for long-overdue steps to defend the Church's most basic values and interests of its congregation. He urges the hierarchy to raise such issues as the State's



Country Life: *An environment of sensitivity.*

interdiction of religious education, nonrecognition of religious holidays, and demolition of churches, including some of historic value.

Father Calciu's expression of the truth through his sermons evoked an intense response, not only among his audiences, but throughout Romanian society. His texts were multiplied, circulated clandestinely, and avidly read. Students present at the preaching of his sermons responded with tremendous spiritual affinity. One letter to Fr. Calciu reads, "What a joy to hear talk about God and about a world other than that of matter from a secular professor in a secular faculty the other day. It was like an unbelievable dream. And to understand that this layman was enlightened by the spirit of faith was clear not only by his words, but also by his whole being. Thus I almost envy you theologians that you know and live that which we do not know and yet towards which our whole being aspires." In another letter, a high school teacher repented for having carried out the authorities' orders to dissuade his students from attending church services. In the course of a subsequently conducted government investigation questioning their interest in Father Calciu's sermons, theological students courageously spoke of a unique experience of spiritual and moral inspiration. Similarly, an engineering student declared that he had gained the conviction that the defense of truth and justice must take precedence over both opportunism and complacency, and that adherence to principles must override moral compromises.

This response explains the swift measures taken by the authorities to silence Fr. Calciu. As it has often done in the past, the church hierarchy obeyed the command of the authorities and suspended Father Calciu from his priestly functions, dismissing him from the seminary on May 17, 1978. However, Fr. Calciu could not be silenced. His students pursued him and, in petitioning Bishop Roman Ialomitianu, announced: "If you dismissed Father Calciu, we ask you to dismiss us also. Father Calciu sacrificed himself for us. When you forbade him to preach we asked him to continue. Therefore we share his guilt." Many sought him out: workers, teachers, intellectuals—all those suffering injustices at the hands of the communist authorities. Father Calciu felt impotent to help his refugees, but he offered them spiritual encouragement and, having contacts with the West, sent their petitions and protests to Radio Free Europe (R.F.E.) to be more widely vocalized. He recalls one

Entrance to the Calciu apartment: *The police made sure that no one could enter or leave here without being controlled.*

A meeting *of old friends in freedom.*

incident when a mother from Cluj wanted to protest the imprisonment of her son.

Her son was persuaded by the secret police to accept a false passport in order to flee to the West. However, upon his acceptance of the passport, he was arrested and sentenced to a prison term. Fr. Calciu sent this information to R.F.E. with the hope of saving others from this wicked trap.

Despite attempts by the security to keep Fr. Calciu in isolation, there emerged an interdenominational Christian Committee for the Defense of Religious Liberty and Freedom of Conscience, with Fr. Calciu among its members. This committee issued a comprehensive 25-point program of demands for religious rights, which it sent both to the Romanian authorities and to religious and human-rights organizations in the West. Fr. Calciu wrote a separate appeal for support to Pope John Paul II and to the prestigious French Committee of Intellectuals for a Europe of Liberties (CIEL) that adopted him as a member. In February 1979, Father Calciu provided spiritual and moral support to the Romanian intellectuals Dr. Cana and Dr. Brasoveanu, in their noted attempt to establish a Free Union of the Working People in Romania (in Romanian: Sindicatul Liber al Oamenilor Muncii din Romania, or S.L.O.M.R.). S.L.O.M.R. declared itself affiliated to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, and declared its solidarity with all associations and committees, in Romania and abroad, which are active in the cause of human rights, with particular emphasis on the rights involved in labor relations. The document, read over R.F.E., included the addresses of Cana and Brasoveanu so that anyone interested in joining the Union could contact them. Within two days of its broadcast into Romania, the Union received 1700 responses expressing solidarity, despite attempts made by the Romanian security to prevent communication. Afraid of governmental disruption, the Romanian authorities arrested Cana, Brasoveanu, and Fr. Calciu on March 10, 1979, even though French president Giscard D'Estaing was then visiting the country. They were tried "in camera" and put in prison on charges of "antistate activities" and "betrayal of state secrets". Brasoveanu was sentenced to six years, Cana to seven years, and Fr. Calciu to ten years.

During this second prison term, Fr. Calciu was asked by the general director of the prisons in Romania to work in the prison factory. Fr. Calciu replied, "I cannot work, because I am a priest. If you give me permission to serve the prisoners I will do it. But to work for the welfare of the prison—it is impossible. I will not be a slave of [Romanian president] Ceausescu and his family." At this time, president Nicolae Ceausescu was being very well-received by the Western governments. Resultant of their president's favorable reception, the communist authorities thought it an opportune time to kill Father Calciu without consequence. Because the Aiud prison administration realized that they could not destroy the moral Father Calciu, they introduced into his cell two murderers with orders to kill him. However, after intercessory prayer, the two murderers kneeled with Fr. Calciu as he officiated the Orthodox liturgy.

Despite the inhumane conditions and treatment to which he was subjected, Fr. Calciu was sustained by news brought him on occasional visits from his wife and son. In 1981, while in the hospital-jail Jilava, Fr. Calciu had both hands brutally beaten as a result of making the sign of the cross while praying; he continued, however, making this holy sign. News of this event reached the free world, and people expressing their solidarity with him, though not necessarily Orthodox, began crossing themselves during prayer. Fr. Calciu recalls, "I know and I then secretly knew that, while I was praying in my cell, all over the world and at different time standards people were praying, and a common, continuous prayer was being sent to God for me. For this reason I was not alone; I was in the Church. I was in the mystical body of Christ, to which we all belong." Fr. Calciu speaks also of the many times he was consoled by the spiritual communion he shared with his mother and other saints. He recalls, "I always felt in prison that people were praying with me. Though I was alone, I always had this feeling of communion with them."

Nonetheless, Father Calciu's prison experience was one of intense suffering. Fr. Calciu writes, "The power of the secret police is unlimited. It is a law unto itself, it fears nothing, and does not shrink from committing any abuse." Persistent, the authorities continued seeking ways to extirpate Fr. Calciu. Fr. Calciu recounts the 100 days of the "game of death". "For ten days I was isolated in a cell without windows, thus without air. I had only a shredded jacket, and pants without buttons or a belt. I received "food" once every three days. In the evening a wooden board was lowered from the wall and I was allowed to rest for six hours. The remaining 18 hours I had to spend on the concrete floor. After ten days, they put me back in the common cell for two days, and then isolated me again for another ten days." Finally, Fr. Calciu refused to eat, thus maintaining his personal freedom and frustrating the aims of the prison authorities. Poisoned by the communist

A joyful reunion . . . *Father Calciu and Andrei after five years separation.*

indoctrination, the guard responsible to watch over Fr. Calciu governed with insidious terror. Many times, while Fr. Calciu transported the wooden bucket containing his excreta to the privy, some 20 meters away — which seemed much farther to him due to his weakened body — the savage guard would purposely push him, knocking the contents of the bucket to the floor, and thereafter order him to clean it up with his hands.

Fr. Calciu was, however, not without a consolation. One Sunday, on which he was to receive no food, while in isolation, Fr. Calciu wanted to serve the Holy Liturgy. The Orthodox liturgy is celebrated with bread and wine, and the central moment is when, while praying, the Holy Spirit descends and transforms the bread and wine into the body and blood of Jesus Christ in a real but invisible way. Fr. Calciu had no wine in prison, but with the bread, accepting the Catholic theory which allows for the concomitant fulfillment of communion with only the bread, he could complete his service by necessity. He wanted to ask the guard for a crumb of bread, but was afraid. "My request would make the evil guard on duty mad, he would insult me, and ruin the peace I have in my soul for this holy day," thought Fr. Calciu. Fr. Calciu was torn between maintaining his peace of soul, and asking the guard for a piece of bread and accepting the consequences. Finally, yielding to the irresistable force within him, Fr. Calciu knocked on the door of his cell. With violence the guard opened the door and, dumfounded by Fr. Calciu's request, slammed the door behind him without a word of response. For half an hour Fr. Calciu prayed for the restoration of his peace. The Lord worked in the heart of the guard, who then returned quietly with the normal full day's ration, a three ounce portion of bread. Fr. Calciu thought it to be, at first, only an illusion, but he had the bread in his hands. For two hours Fr. Calciu prayed in peace, without the guard's usual barrage of insults and profanities. He experienced "real prayer, which is the total abandonment of oneself into God, Who is an abyss, with no dimention or figure." Initially Fr. Calciu had a fear of this abandonment, like the fear of falling from a precipice, but finally letting go, he felt extreme happiness and joy. The guard again called to Fr. Calciu and reprimanded him, telling him never to speak to anyone of his act of kindness. Fr. Calciu responded, "I could never tell anyone, you have been an angel to me, you have given me the bread which became the Body of Christ, you have said the Holy Liturgy with me." The guard never again insulted or mistreated him.

Several times Fr. Calciu went on hunger strikes, timed to coincide with the follow-up meetings of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, which brought temporary relaxation of his treatment, only to be followed by renewed severity that prompted new hunger strikes. The authorities repeatedly offered to release him conditional to his admittance of guilt and application to Ceausescu for a pardon. He repeatedly rejected their terms. On one hunger strike Fr. Calciu declared, "I offer my blood and flesh to the family Ceausescu, the flesh and blood of the Christian Orthodox priest and Romanian patriot only to give a passport to my wife and son." Adhering to his captors' idle promises, Fr. Calciu, after being physically sustained for 26 days only with water, ended this hunger strike.

Fr. Calciu's case received wide exposure in the Western media over an extended period of time and was taken up by mainly religious and human rights organizations in the West, as well as by several Western governments. Consequent to much prayer and this international campaign of support, Fr. Calciu was released from prison on August 20, 1984. Follow-

"Str. Ghirlandei": *The street in Bucharest where Father Calciu, family and neighbors lived under the "protection" of over 130 secret police and militia.*

"The beginning of sorrows,"
Romanian Orthodox Church, Radu Voda, Bucharest, where Fr. Calciu delivered his now famous 7 sermons in 1978.

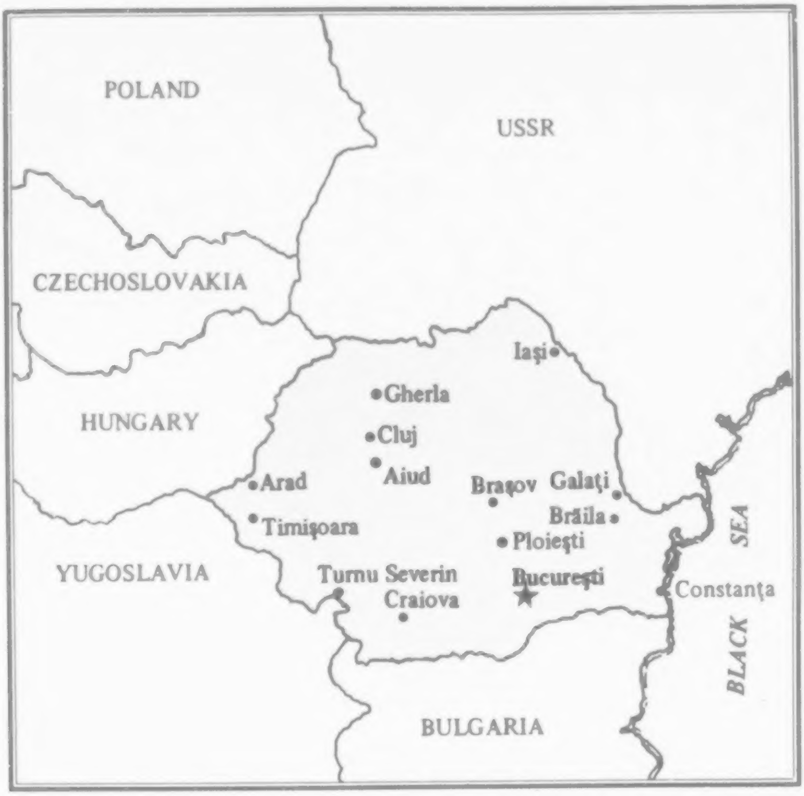
ing his release, he was kept under a form of house arrest , with police supervision, and was obliged to report to the secret police at frequent intervals.

Friday, August 9, 1985 marks the day Fr. Calciu arrived at New York. He did not want to leave his country, but because of his love for his family and his gratitude to the United States, he chose to immigrate to the U.S. He tells us, "I feel very well here and I never missed the friendship from fellows in the faith. And this human warmth that I need always, which I always found in my friends and students in Romania, I have also found here."

What Fr. Calciu has learned from his suffering and now offers to us is that there is no possibility of salvation outside of Christianity, and through this salvation we become "real people". He says that if we do not accept Jesus as our personal Savior, we will end up with the materialism and atheism of the satanic communism, which can be resisted only by our faith in Christ and unity with His Church. Fr. Calciu says, "Now when I see the Christians with whom I shared a solidarity while in prison, I realize that my sentiments of unity were founded not only on my desire, but on the reality of prayer and commun[illegible] in the Christian people."

PROFILE

THE HISTORY OF ROMANIA



Romania has had 22 centuries of violent and dramatic history. From about 200 B.C., when it was first colonized by the Dacians (a Thracian tribe), to modern times, this territory has been the scene of many invasions and migrations that have left their mark on the country and its inhabitants.

Before the postwar communist regime, Romania looked to the Western countries, particularly France, for cultural, educational, scientific, and social inspiration and development. Among the Balkan countries, Romania was considered the most Gallicized; the French language, along with Romanian, was compulsory in the schools. In 1948, the Russian language and Soviet institutions supplanted Western influences in Romanian cultural life. Since the late 1960s, however, Russian has not been compulsory, and German, French, and English are widely taught in the schools.

Romania was an independent kingdom from 1881 until December 30, 1947, when the communist-dominated government forced the abdication of King Michael. Before 1938, Romania had a series of governments dominated by a landowning aristocracy, based only nominally on a liberal constitutional system, with a *de facto* limitation of suffrage. The Social Democratic Party, which controlled the small labor movement, was tolerated by the monarchy but never had political power. In the 1930s, an anti-Semitic, anti-Soviet Fascist Iron Guard movement threatened the government, which was taken over in 1940-41 by the authoritarian General Antonescu, who outlawed the Iron Guard. In June 1941, Romania entered World War II on the side of the Axis Powers, largely to recover Bessarabia and Bukovina, which had been taken by the U.S.S.R. in 1940.

Sibiu: *Searching for something to do.*

A coup led by King Michael and organized by opposition politicians and Soviet intelligence agents, with support of the army, deposed the Antonescu dictatorship on August 23, 1944 (now Romania's national holiday). An armistice, secretly negotiated at Cairo, was signed September 12 which brought Romanian forces into the war on the side of the Allies against the Germans in Transylvania, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia. Romania, which had suffered extensive losses in the war against the U.S.S.R., incurred additional heavy casualties.

The peace treaty, signed at Paris on February 10, 1947, confirmed the Soviet annexation of Bessarabia and northern Bukovina and ceded a largely Bulgarian-populated area of southern Dobrudja to Bulgaria. It also reincorporated into Romania that portion of northern Transylvania granted to Hungary in 1940 under German and Italian arbitration between Romania and Hungary. In addition, the treaty required substantial war reparations by Romania to the Soviet Union.

Soviet occupation forces supported communist organizers, and the noncommunist political leaders were purged. In March 1945, King Michael was forced to appoint a communist-front government. The King abdicated under pressure in December 1947, when the Romanian People's Republic was declared. With their accession to power, the communists effectively subordinated national Romanian interests to those of the U.S.S.R. Since the early 1960s, however, there has been a resurgence of Romanian nationalism and several significant foreign policy differences between Romania and the Soviet Union.

A new constitution was adopted in 1965, and the name of the country was changed to the Socialist Republic of Romania.

In 1968, a sweeping reorganization of the administrative structure and territorial division was carried out. The new territorial division was reminiscent of that existing before the imposition of the Soviet-style regime.

PEOPLE

About 88% of the people are ethnically Romanian, a group that—in contrast to that of Slav or Magyar neighbors—is traced to Latin-speaking Romans and Thracian, Slavonic, and Celtic ancestors. As a result, the Romanian language, although containing many elements of Slavic, Turkish, and other languages, is related to French, Italian, Portuguese, and Spanish. Romania was a Roman colony during the second and third centuries A.D., and modern Romanians consider themselves to be descendants of the Roman civilization. Hungarian and German are also spoken in parts of the country.

Most of the minority populations reside in Transylvania or areas to the north and west of Bucharest. Among the principal minorities are Hungarians and Germans, with smaller numbers of Gypsies, Serbs, Croats, Ukrainians, Greeks, Turks, Armenians, and Great Russians.

Before World War II, minorities represented more than 28% of the total population, but during the war that percentage was halved, largely by the loss of the border areas of Bessarabia and northern Bukovina (to the U.S.S.R.) and southern Dobrudja (to Bulgaria), as well as by the postwar flight and deportation of ethnic Germans. However, in Transylvania, which was part of pre-1918 Austria-Hungary, Romania retains areas where the ethnic "minority" sometimes makes up three-fourths of the local population.

The Romanian Government's policy toward the national minorities is nondiscriminatory and allows them a degree of cultural autonomy. It insists on their integration into the national economy, however, and provides for compulsory study of Romanian in addition to the minority languages.

The Jewish community surviving World War II has been reduced by more than 90% over the past three decades by emigration to Israel. In recent years, up to 10,000 of the nearly 400,000 ethnic Germans in Romania have emigrated annually to the Federal Republic of Germany. Since World war II, there has been little emigration of ethnic Hungarians to Hungary.

Traditionally, religious observance in Romania has been extensive, and religious allegiances generally follow ethnic lines, with about 80% of all Romanians nominally belonging to the Romanian Orthodox Church. The Greek Catholic or Uniate Church, to which about 10% of the population belonged, was incorporated into the Romanian Orthodox Church by fiat in 1948. Roman Catholics, largely Magyar and German, constitute about 6% of the population; Calvinists, Jews, Baptists, and Lutherans comprise most of the remaining 4%.

Romania's rich cultural tradition has been nourished by many sources, some of which predate the Roman occupation. The traditional folk arts, including dance, wood carving, ceramics, weaving and embroidery of costumes and household decorations, and a fascinating body of folk music, still flourish in many parts of the country. Despite strong Austrian, German, and especially French influences, all of Romania's great artists, such as painter Nicolae Grigorescu, poet Milhail Emineschu, composer George Enescu, and sculptor Constantin Brancusi, drew their inspiration from Romanian folk traditions.

The country's many Orthodox monasteries, as well as the Transylvanian Catholic and Evangelical Churches, some of which date back to the 13th century, are repositories of artistic treasures. The famous painted monasteries of Bukovina are an important part of European architecture.

The theater may be contemporary Romania's liveliest art form. Outstanding performances of classic Romanian works, such as those of Ion Luca Caragiale, as well as plays by modern or avant-garde Romanian and international playwrights, find sophisticated and enthusiastic audiences in the many theaters of the capital and of the smaller cities.

POLITICAL CONDITIONS

The transition immediately after World War II from the pro-German dictatorship of Ion Antonescu to the dictatorship of Moscow-trained communists was rapid. After 1947, the new government followed the Soviet example of agricultural collectivization and forced industrialization accompanied by a remodeling of the state along totalitarian communist lines.

A general de-Russification of the country began in the early 1960s, as the Romanian leadership displayed increasing autonomy from the Soviet Union in the control of its internal affairs, following the withdrawal of Soviet troops in 1958. The growth of political nationalism has also been intermittently accompanied by some relaxation of internal restrictions. In 1965, 1967, 1977, and 1982, many political prisoners were released and the prison sentences of others were reduced or rescinded. A degree of liberality toward cultural creativity was shown in the 1969-71 period. Since 1964, Romania has also permitted a sharp increase in cultural relations with the West, although the level remains low in absolute terms. An extensive internal security apparatus remains a dominant influence on Romanian life.

Independence Celebration: *Workers attendance is mandatory.*

The Romanian Government's nationalistic policies have won considerable popular acceptance. Increasing numbers of persons from those strata previously most antagonistic to the system—intellectuals and agricultural workers—have joined the Romanian Communist Party. The party's membership rose from 1.3 million in 1965 to more than 3.2 million, or more than 13% of the total population, by 1982.

Political leadership since the late 1950s has been remarkably stable, and the passage of power from longtime party-government chief Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, who died in 1965, to Nicolae Ceausescu was evidently smooth and uncomplicated. Ceausescu's 18 years in office (party chief since 1965, chief of state since December 1967, and president of the republic since 1974) have been marked by popular acceptance of the government's independent foreign policy.

There has been no evidence of any prospective change in Romania's policy of independence within the communist system or its active development of relations with noncommunist governments. Responsible officials have declared repeatedly that these policies will be continued.

Although the government's independent foreign policy remains popular, manifestations of unrest appeared in 1977, including an illegal strike in the coal mining area of the Jiu Valley, which the government suppressed through a combination of concessions and toughness. Examples of public unrest have occurred sporadically in recent years as Romania's economic problems have taken their toll on the country's standard of living.

U.S. – ROMANIAN RELATIONS

After a 15-year period of coolness, the United States and Romania began in 1960 to improve relations by signing an agreement providing for partial settlement of American property claims. In the same year, cultural, scientific, and educational exchanges were intitiated. In 1964, the legations of both nations were raised to the level of embassies.

In August 1969, President Nixon paid an official visit to Romania, the first by a U.S. President to Eastern Europe since World War II. During that visit, agreement was reached to establish a U.S. library in Bucharest, a Romanian library in New York and a U.S. bank office in Bucharest.

High-level contacts between U.S. and Romanian leaders have multiplied despite continuing political differences. President Ceausescu's April 1978 visit to the United States to meet with President Carter was his fourth visit since 1970. President Ford and Secretaries of State Rogers, Kissinger, and Haig have visited Bucharest. High-level visits have also included trips by American cabinet officers and Romanian ministers, parliamentarians, and leaders in many fields.

In 1972, Secretary of State Rogers and Foreign Minister Manescu signed a consular convention to facilitate protection of citizens and their property in both countries. In the same year, Overseas Private Investment Corporation facilities were granted, and Romania became eligible for U.S. Export-Import Bank credits. An agreement signed in 1974 for cultural, educational, scientific, and technical exchanges and cooperation has resulted in growth of contacts and exchanges of information in those fields.

A 3-year trade agreement, signed in April 1975 and renewed in 1978 and 1981, accorded most-favored-nation status on Romania, the only East European country willing at that time to receive this treatment under the terms of Section 402 of the Trade Reform Act of 1974. This status has been renewed yearly since 1975 after congressional review. Subsequently, the two countries signed a long-term agreement on economic, industrial, and technical cooperation. Total trade in 1981 amounted to $1.06 billion. A joint declaration issued during President Ceausescu's 1978 visit restated the desire of both countries to continue and expand their relations.

Because of its connection with most-favored-nation tariff treatment, emigration remains a related issue for discussion between the two governments. About 2,000 Romanians emigrate to the United States each year. A total of about 150,000 people have emigrated from Romania since the institution of MFN. ■

Selections from ***Background Notes*** *U.S. Department of State, Bureau of Public Affairs.*

Young Pioneers: *Early indoctrination of communism.*

THE MAGNA CHARTA OF OUR FREEDOM

by The Rev. Dr. Ernest Gordon

The Magna Charta of our personal freedom is the Bible. From beginning to end the nature of the living God is revealed by His acts of deliverence.

Where does the story, or history, of the people of God begin? In the bondage of Egypt! This bondage began when Joseph was sold as a slave by his brothers. When Joseph prospered, his kinsfolk joined him. They, too, and their families prospered until the time arose when a new king ruled "who knew not Joseph." From then on the Israelites became slaves. The last prophecy of Joseph, however, was one of deliverance: "God will surely visit you, and bring you out of this land." (Gen. 50:24).

This prophecy was fulfilled. Moses was chosen as God's agent of liberation. The Passover and Exodus were the means of the Israelites deliverance from bondage. Leaving Egypt behind, however, did not mean the fulfillment of God's mighty acts. There were still more to come. There was a generation of wandering in the wilderness. What a terrible discipline that was! It was an essential one, however, if the shackles of Egypt were to be broken. There was also the discipline of God's moral demands summarized in the Decalogue, in order that the people would be free for God and each other.

In the giving of his commandments God revealed Himself once again as the God of deliverance. These are His words: "I am the Lord thy God, Who has brought you out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage" (Ex. 20:1). The echo of this grand note of liberation resounds throughout the whole Bible. The prophet Isaiah tells us what this freedom is *for* in the 43rd chapter of his prophecies. God saved them from the captivity of Egypt in order that they would be His witness. "Ye are my witnesses, saith the Lord, and my servants whom I have chosen" (v. 10).

Although the Israelites were chosen for the freedom to witness to the living God they never achieved fully the purpose for which they were delivered. They were given the promised land to be the place of their witness. But they chose to be a monarchy instead of God's people. The northern kingdom of the ten tribes was conquered by the Assyrians in 721 B.C. and the southern kingdom in 586 B.C. by the Babylonians. After the Babylonians there were the Persians, after the Persians there were the Greeks, and then after the Greeks the Romans.

Where then was the freedom of God's people?

For the answer to that question we have to turn to the New Covenant.

Joseph was instructed by the angel of the Lord to marry Mary and to call her son *Jesus*. This is the Greek word for that of the Hebrew one *Joshua*, meaning deliverer or liberator. This was in fulfillment of the prophecy contained in these words of *Isaiah* 7:16, "Behold a virgin shall conceive and bear a son and shall call his name Immanuel." Thus He Who is our Savior is God with us. By the irony of sin, Herod, who had been appointed King of the Jews by the Romans, sought to kill this Deliverer by means of the Massacre of the Innocents. Joseph, however, had been warned of Herod's decision and departed for Egypt with Mary and the baby Jesus. What irony! There was no room for Jesus in the Jewish province. He had to return to the country of His people's first captivity. Thus, another Joseph fulfilled the prophecy of the first Joseph. When Herod died Jesus came "out of Egypt" in fulfillment of Hosea's prophecy, "When Israel was a child, then I loved him and called my son out of Egypt" (11:1).

In what way did Jesus fulfill that prophecy? What was the nature of the deliverance He brought? Yes, by His death He set us free. But from what? Rome continued to hold the Israelites in the grip of its tyranny. The Roman armies marched along the Roman roads to wage war, destroy, and take captives. Jerusalem was destroyed by the power of Rome in A.D. 70.

Jesus was tested in the wilderness as His people had been tested in the wilderness. He rejected the roles of the popular Messiah and returned to Nazareth to reveal Himself. He read, in the Synagogue, from the scroll of the prophet Isaiah, at the 61st chapter, "The spirit of the Lord is upon Me, for He has anointed Me to preach the Gospel to the poor: He has sent Me to announce release to the captives and restoration of sight to the blind, to set free the downtrodden and to proclaim the year of the Lord's favor" (Luke 4:18-19).

According to St. Luke, John the Baptist sent two of his disciples to Jesus in order to ask Him if He were indeed the Messiah, "or shall I look for another?" (Luke 7:19). A strange question! Was John disappointed in Jesus? Did he assume that Jesus was not acting as a Messiah should? This was Jesus' answer: "Go and tell John what you have seen and heard: the blind receive their sight, the lame walk, lepers are cleansed and the deaf hear, the dead are raised up, the poor have good news preached to them. And blessed is he who has taken no offense at me" (Luke 7:22-23).

Obviously Jesus did not establish a utopian world kingdom with His palace in Jerusalem. This was the model, or ideal, of the messianic speculation of most Israelites. He had rejected this model by rejecting the three temptations.

St. Mark, in his account of the Gospel, sums up the core of the Gospel in these words: "After John had been arrested Jesus went to Galilee preaching the good news from God, saying, 'The time is completed and the kingdom of God is near, repent and believe in the good news'" (Mark 1:14-15). But where is this kingdom, we may ask, and when? This was the answer given by Jesus to that same question, which was asked by some of the Pharisees: "The kingdom of God does not come by looking for it, neither will they say, 'Look! Here it is' or 'There it is!' for the kingdom of God is in your midst" (Luke 17:20-21).

The trial of Jesus before Pilate is a glorious illustration of what is the kingdom of God. Pilate had the power to have Jesus executed. His power, therefore, was the power of physical might, coercion and death. But the kingdom of God cannot be like the kingdom of *this* world; thus Jesus explained to Pilate, "My kingdom is not of *this* world" (John 19: 33-37). If it had been, it would have been like every worldly power.

The reign of Jesus was not initiated from a throne in a palace, but from the Cross, even as He stated it would: "Now is *this* world's sentence; now the ruler of *this* world will be expelled; and I when I am lifted up from the earth will draw everyone to Myself."

The nature of Jesus' reign is perfectly clear. It is the rule of love, His new commandment. The measure of it is in this, "Greater love hath no man than this that he lay down his life for his friends" (John 15:12-13). Jesus could say that, not only did He lay down his life for His friends, but for His enemies. "God proves His own law for us by Christ's dying for us when we were still sinners" (Rev. 5:8).

Where then is our freedom?

It is in the Christ! He who occupied space and time, in the days of His flesh, has ascended to occupy Eternity for His brethren. He reigns at the right hand of God as St. Stephen the first martyr knew so well. From us He expects the obedience of faith, hope and love. Because we are free in Him we may enjoy His freedom in prisons or in penthouses. The life of obedience is summed up by the Sermon on the Mount. St. Paul describes it brilliantly in his letter to the Romans. It is freedom from the wrath of God, from law, from sin, and from death.

Only Jesus can grant us this freedom. Thus in the concluding words of the book of Revelation we read, "The Spirit and the bride say, 'Come.' ... And let the thirsty come, he who desires it, let him take freely the water of life" (Rev. 22:17). For by the water of life are we liberated to live in the Kingdom of God, now and forever. And in His kingdom all things have become, are, and will become, new. ■

Dr. Ernest Gordon, *author of* **Miracle on the River Kwai** *and founder and director of CREED, with Fr. Gheorghe Calciu*

CREED is a community of Christians dedicated to the continuation of the world mission of the Church initiated at Pentecost. The Gospel has been preached "to the uttermost parts of the earth," but its witnesses are being persecuted and imprisoned in many areas of the globe. Thus, CREED is a witness to the Gospel and to the Persecuted Church. It intercedes for imprisoned believers through Congress, and through diplomatic means. It communicates with the Persecuted Church by radio, mass mailings, and personal missions. It witnesses to the unity of Christ's body in the world.

WORKERS' PARADISE

Standing on the corner
Trying to find a reason for the night
Stopping short the fantasy
Where you're the one who vows to make things right
You look at all the lonely ones
The only ones that feel the same as you

Welcome to my paradise
The one they said they'd make for me and you
It's just this workers' paradise
Where black is white and white is black and blue

Morning brings the factories
And who could count the people on the way
To bow before their dieties
And you wonder if they've ever thought to pray
If Lenin were the friend of men
Why can't he see the shape we're in it's true

Welcome to my paradise
The one they said they'd make for me and you
It's just this workers' paradise

Where black is white and white is black and blue
It's all becoming clear to you
The rhetoric is passing with the haze
And you know how they've been listening
And some one's placed a number on your days
To deal with your humanity
They label it insanity and shame
And the iron trees in paradise
Produce a fruit as cold as ice
They drown you in your loved one's tears
Hide you where no one could hear

Welcome to my paradise
The one they said they'd make for me and you
It's just this workers' paradise
Where black is white and white is black and blue

I'll make it to the West tonight
I'll make it there I'll be all right I know

from the song Worker's Paradise
by John Crossley
©Lion Records & Tapes

Costly Grace

by Dietrich Bonhoeffer

Cheap Grace is the deadly enemy of our Church. We are fighting to-day for costly grace.

Cheap grace means grace sold on the market like cheapjacks' wares. The sacraments, the forgiveness of sin, and the consolations of religion are thrown away at cut prices. Grace is presented as the Church's inexhaustible treasury, from which she showers blessings with generous hands, without asking questions or fixing limits. Grace without price; grace without cost! The essence of grace, we suppose, is that the account has been paid in advance; and, because it has been paid, everything can be had for nothing. Since the cost was infinite, the possibilities of using and spending it are infinite. What would grace be if it were not cheap?

Cheap grace means grace as a doctrine, a principle, a system. It means forgiveness of sins proclaimed as a general truth, the love of God taught as the Christian "conception" of God. An intellectual assent to that idea is held to be of itself sufficient to secure remission of sins. The Church which holds the correct doctrine of grace has, it is supposed, *ipso facto* a part in that grace. In such a Church the world finds a cheap covering for its sins, no contrition is required, still less any real desire to be delivered from sin. Cheap grace therefore amounts to a denial of the living Word of God, in fact, a denial of the Incarnation of the Word of God.

Cheap grace is the preaching of forgiveness without requiring repentance, baptism without church discipline, Communion without confession, absolution without personal confession. Cheap grace is grace without discipleship, grace without the cross, grace without Jesus Christ, living and incarnate.

Costly grace is the treasure hidden in the field; for the sake of it a man will gladly go and sell all that he has. It is the pearl of great price to buy which the merchant will sell all his goods. It is the kingly rule of Christ, for whose sake a man will pluck out the eye which causes him to stumble, it is the call of Jesus Christ at which the disciple leaves his nets and follows him.

Costly grace is the gospel which must be *sought* again and again, the gift which must be *asked* for, the door at which a man must *knock*.

Such grace is *costly* because it calls us to follow, and it is *grace* because it calls us to follow *Jesus Christ*. It is costly because it costs a man his life, and it is grace because it gives a man the only true life. It is costly because it condemns sin, and grace because it justifies the sinner. Above all, it is *costly* because it cost God the life of his Son: "ye were bought at a price," and what has cost God much cannot be cheap for us. Above all, it is *grace* because God did not reckon his Son too dear a price to pay for our life, but delivered him up for us. Costly grace is the Incarnation of God.

Costly grace is the sanctuary of God; it has to be protected from the world, and not thrown to the dogs. It is therefore the living word, the Word of God, which he speaks as it pleases him. Costly grace confronts us as a gracious call to follow Jesus, it comes as a word of forgiveness to the broken spirit and the contrite heart. Grace is costly because it compels a man to submit to the yoke of Christ and follow him; it is grace because Jesus says: "My yoke is easy and my burden is light."

WHO AM I?

WHO AM I? They often tell me
I would step from my cell's confinement
calmly, cheerfully, firmly,
like a squire from his country-house.

Who am I? They often tell me
I would talk to my warders
freely and friendly and clearly,
as though it were mine to command.

Who am I? They also tell me
I would bear the days of misfortune
equably, smilingly, proudly,
like one accustomed to win.

Am I then really all that which other men tell of?
Or am I only what I know of myself,
restless and longing and sick, like a bird in a cage,
struggling for breath, as though hands were compressing
  my throat,
yearning for colours, for flowers, for the voices of birds,
thirsting for words of kindness, for neighbourliness,
trembling with anger at despotisms and petty humiliation,
tossing in expectation of great events,
powerlessly trembling for friends at an infinite distance,
weary and empty at praying, at thinking, at making,
faint, and ready to say farewell to it all?

Who am I? This or the other?
Am I one person today, and tomorrow another?
Am I both at once? A hypocrite before others,
and before myself a contemptibly woebegone weakling?
Or is something within me still like a beaten army,
fleeing in disorder from victory already achieved?

Who am I? They mock me, these lonely questions of mine.
Whoever I am, thou knowest, O God, I am thine.

Reprinted with permission of Macmillan Publishing Company from The Cost of Discipleship by Dietrich Bonhoeffer

THE EFFECT OF COMMUNISM ON ROMANIAN SOCIETY:

Orthodox Church: *Many churches such as the Orthodox Church in Oradea have undergone major renovations in recent years.*

Undermining Social Integrity
Tolerating Religion

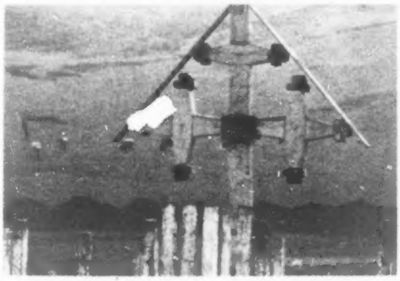
Romania has been a country of invasions and migrations for many centuries. Not until World War II and the introduction of communism in 1946, however, was the life and religion of the Romanian people so challenged. Following the German withdrawal, the Russian-backed communist govermnent forced itself upon war-beaten Romania, where communism is sustained still today.

Because the majority of the Romanian people were opposed to the new communist regime—which had only one-thousand members in 1945—the new government had to develop ways of destroying existing values and replacing them with the communist ideals.

In a discussion with former Romanian communist leader Ana Pauker, former Romanian princess Ileana asked her to explain some of the communist principles and methods: why, for example, they resorted to so much violence. "It is not intended to convince," Pauker replied calmly, "but to frighten. When one replants, one first destroys everything that grows, root and branch. Then one levels the earth. It is only afterwards that one can plant successfully." She stated that unfortunately it was not possible to destroy a whole generation and have only the young left to train. A certain amount of physical work had to be done—road work, agricultural work, industrial work—to support the children in their youth. It was for this reason that the older generation had to be left alive, but they must be too frightened to dare to interfere with the communist training of the children. "Simple death would be too good and too easy. It would not frighten the others sufficiently," she explained. Moral and physical threats of various kinds were used to produce this fear, and in doing so communist leaders had little regard for human life. No matter how prodigally they were used and destroyed, there was still enough of the "expendable" generation, too old to train, for the purpose of labor.

Part of the system of terror was to allow frightening information to "accidentally" transpire, that for example, on a given night a person was being tortured to make him confess to some alleged anti-revolutionary crime. Later, people verified that such apparent "slips" were often accurate. Every rumor added to the despair and distress of those who were for the moment left in physical freedom. The victim himself, if he returned alive, would never speak of his treatment. It was only his body—seen in secret, seen in a hospital—or his deadened expression that testified to the truth. In this way fear spread, while its cause was officially denied by authorities and victims alike.

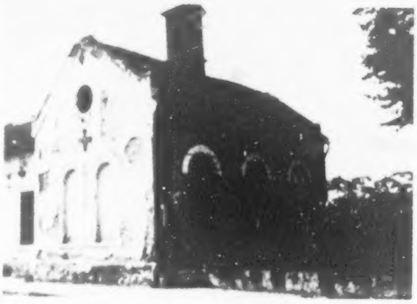
The communist indoctrination process naturally found fertile soil in the education system. Communist doctrines were systematically instilled into the schools. History was changed to suit Party ideals. Textbooks were often taken to the school courtyard, where they were ceremonially burned, and thereafter replaced with books containing communist rhetoric. Eventually courses of communist lecture constituted fifty percent of the students' final grades. The morale of the schools was destroyed by the



The intensity of religious feeling in Romania *is expressed quite freely in houses, along roadsides and in villages with seemingly little interference.*

gradual establishment of a spy system so that each student knew he was being surveiled by his fellow students. Today this spy system is a sophisticated secret police network touching the personal lives of every citizen. In a few cases, to enforce the spy system, teachers attempted to use a system of rewards. But because of the high moral caliber of the students, teachers had to resort to blackmail and threats involving the safety of the students' families. The students were forced to attend Soviet propaganda films and to learn songs and recite pledges of love and loyalty to the Communist government. For a time the teachers were able secretly to teach some of the truths that had been eliminated from the texts and courses of study, but as the spy system developed these teachers were discovered and removed. The truth could be taught only at home, and then only until the children's minds were so warped that they would spy on and betray even their own families. This same type of spying and indoctrination was practiced in all types of group settings, from factories to churches.

Religion, though having been distressed by so much political violence, remained a source of strength to many Romanians. Until the establishment of the Greater Romanian State in 1918, the Orthodox faith had been the official and almost exclusive religion of the nation. The acquisition of Transylvania, Crisana, Banat, Bassarabia and Bucovina brought about important changes in the religious situation, with the inclusion of large numbers of Protestants and Roman Catholics of the Latin and the Uniate traditions. This new configuration was formalized by the Law of Cults in 1928, when all the major religions enjoyed freedom in spiritual matters with the exception of "sects", such as the Baptists and Seventh Day Adventists.



A Baptist Church left in ruin: *Some congregations experience long and frustrating delays in obtaining permission to rebuild or renovate.*

The developments in Romania at the end of World War II brought about problematic changes in the relationships between Romanian religious groups and the State. Professor Keith Hitchens summarizes the dilemma of the Romanian Orthodox church as follows:

> The crisis which now confronted the Church was not simply a formal contest between the Church and State over precedence or some priviledge, religion itself was in jeopardy. Both the Party's long-range aspirations and its

Independence parade in Sibiu, Romania: *Remembering their founding "fathers"*

A

immediate objectives were openly hostile to the Orthodox tradition. Guided by a materialist ideology, it taught that religion was retrograde and was rooted in the exploitation of the working classes, and it confidently predicted that "mysticism" would gradually disappear, as the transition from Capitalism to ideal Communism gained momentum. In the meantime, the party admonished its members not to take a passive attitude toward religion, but to recognize it as a serious obstacle to the attainment of Communism and to "unmask" its true character by promoting a "scientific" understanding of natural and social phenomena.

The most prominent church in Romania is the Orthodox Church with more than 10,000 priests and around 12,000 places of worship. The churches are very well attended, and according to recent reports, there is a surprising increase in attendance of the young people and members of the laboring class. The Church is very important in subtle ways within the lives of the people, particularly in the village world. The priests are held in high esteem, and some of the most difficult struggles within society for the allegiance of the people's hearts and minds are between the priests and the local party secretaries.

There are, however, very important considerations that have helped bring about the present coexistance of the Church and State: political reforms, such as the constitutional declaration of religious freedom, the Law of Cults of 1948, and the Helsinki agreement; the durability of eccesiastical institutions and the persistence of religious convictions and practices; modern means of communication which can publicize the difficulties of the Churches; the governments sensitivity to allies and critics abroad; and the temptation—indeed the necessity—to maximize the usefulness of the Churches to achieve economic, political, and social objectives at home and abroad.

The basic principles of the religious policy of the contemporary Romanian State were set forth in the decree "On the General Governace of Religious Cults" on August 4, 1948, and are still considered valid. The law spells out what are considered to be the constitutional rights of freedom of conscience and religious freedom in Romania, and at the same time has established a very thorough and comprehensive system of State control over denominations. The Churches are under the direct jurisdiction of the Department of Cults which has a cleverly constructed network of informers which monitors the behavior of the churches and their members. There are fourteen officially recognized religious groups in Romania.

There were more than 800,000 members of the Jewish community in Romania before World War II. The Holocaust radically decimated this population, reducing it to less than one-half its prewar numbers. Organized Jewish life for those still in Romania is regarded as "the most active and free" in Eastern Europe. The Federation of Jewish Communities maintains an active cultural and educational program including weekly lectures for young people. The president of the Federation is Dr. Moses Rosen, Chief Rabbi of Romania, and a member of the Romanian National Assembly and The Governing Board of the Jewish Congress. Dr. Rosen is regarded by his fellow rabbis as the "most representative spokesman of the Eastern European Jews." The Jewish situation in Romania may be due in large measure to "his personality, his extensive knowledge, and his organizational and political abilities."

There are two views regarding the future of the Jewish community in Romania. On the one hand, there are those who feel that there is no future for a group in any Communist country and that efforts must be made to facilitate emigration to Israel as quickly as possible. On the other hand, there are those who feel that the Jewish community which has been in Romania for centuries can continue to have a meaningful existence and that the present cultural and religious institutions should be strengthened. However, resulting from intermarriage, assimilation, and emigration, Romania's Jewish population is rapidly decreasing.

Churches overflowing: *Inside . . .*

The Muslim community in Romania was established between the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries when the Turkish armies invaded the country; but organized Muslim religious life did not begin until the first part of the sixteenth century. Presently there are 50,000 members. Frequent exchanges of Muslim delegations have taken place between Romania and other countries, including Morocco, Iraq, Egypt, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, and Iran.

Members of the Neo-Protestant Churches have been most apt to encounter problems with the State authorities, as they are Biblically oriented with a strong insistence on religious experience and ethnical living. Their churches are the only recognized groups which do not receive State subsidies. Members of these groups are most likely to receive Bibles and religious literature through "illegal" channels. Members engage in personal forms of evangelism that upset the traditional Churches and Communists alike.

The Baptist community has made an impact on both the domestic and international scenes. There are indications that the Romanian Baptist community is growing more rapidly than any other European Baptist Church. Its churches are overflowing with eager followers, many of them young people, and new churches are being built throughout the country.

There are religious groups that were illegal in the 1930s and which the present regime continues to restrict. The most important of these groups are the Jehovah's Witnesses, the Nazarenes, the Reformed Adventists, and a Pentecostal schism called the

Dissenters. There are two other groups that are reported to have unofficial meetings: the Army of the Lord, and remnants of the Uniate Church of Transylvania. According to reports, the difficulties of Orthodox Professor Gheorghe Calciu began in part because of his defense of students who were involved with the Army of the Lord.

There is unofficial religious activity in Romania, but to speak of an existing underground Church does not appear justified; however, in the present Socialist State, with its various restrictions, it is impossible for believers of all religions not to be involved in some unofficial activity. Because of continuing religious and cultural exchanges with the West, the pressures for greater freedom of religious expression will intensify in the future within all religious communities. A failure on the part of the State to respond positively to these concerns could lead to a significant increase in underground religious activity, such as unregistered congregations and illegal publication and distribution of religious literature.

The Romanian State realizes that the religious bodies continue to have a tremendous power over the lives of many of its citizens. It has been difficult for the indoctrination attempts of atheistic materialism to alter immediately the deeply ingrained weltanschauung of the people; religious believers are sustained by their belief in the ultimate indestructability of their community of faith.

Despite the fact that efforts for the ''atheistic socialization'' of the younger generation has been an important factor in accelerating the secularization process, it is doubtful that it has been very sucessful in creating committed atheists. Nevertheless, the efforts have had a marked impact on the general values of the people. In the guise of socialization the workers have been consistantly robbed by the governing officials, through taxation and mass exportation of food and goods desperately needed in Romania, causing an erosion of the workers' morale and motivation which has contributed to Romania's present depressed economy.

Today many Romanians are seeking domicile in the West, and because of their increasing need for the West's economic support, the Romanian government has allowed substantial emigration from its country in exchange for certain trade benefits. As a result of this emigration opportunity, the general motivation of the Romanian people to attain a betterment of their situation in countries outside their own has intensified, precipitating the deterioration of their ''temporary'' residence—Romania. The emigration of many religious and intellectual leaders has also contributed to the Romanians' apathetic attitude toward the building up of their own country and homeland. However, the continuing relationship of Romania with the West seems to indicate a desire on the part of many Romanians to maintain cultural exchange and a meaningful social order. ■

Selections from "The Contemporary Religious Situation in Romania" by Earl A. Pope and "I Live Again" by Princess Ileana.

. . . **churches overflowing:** outside

CURRENT CASES

The following cases are current examples of the type of problems that are confronting the people of Eastern Europe and the soviet Union today. Publicity is extremely important and we urge you to write to the embassy of the respective countries as well as to your Congressional Representatives. Below is a list of organizations which can provide greater detail on these and other cases. We also urge you to support their programs to help.

ROMANIA

Ilie Neamtu

ILIE NEAMTU :
On 1 July 1985 Brethern Christian lay worker Ilie Neamtu was arrested at his place of work by Romanian secret police. He was held and denied contact with his family until January 1986 when his wife was informed that he would stand trial for "job improprieties". The trial was ongoing as of 19 February 1986.

Dorel Catarama

DOREL CATARAMA :
This manis a Seventh Day Adventist who has become a prominent human rights case in Romania today. In 1982, he was sentenced to ten years in prison for alleged forgery, embezzlement, and destruction of government documents. He was fined 437,000 lei (about $40,000). His sentence was increased by four years after the 1983 appeal proceeding. In February and March of 1985 there were further legal proceedings in the Bacau county court resulting from an appeal from the prosecutor and claims that substantial funds were still missing. These proceedings were attended by officers from the American Embassy, but the appeal was dismissed and no change was made of the previous sentence or fine. Most observers feel that the various legal proceedings were prompted by his activities as a Seventh Day Adventist. Trial observers have stated that much of the evidence against him was falsified. The U.S. has made repeated appeals urging compassionate handling of the case in view of the sustantial U.S. interest in it. His wife and son were allowed a visit with him in February.

AUREL FLOREA :
A 33 year old Pentacostal from Rupea Brasov, Romania has been terrorized and severely beaten during the past year for "religious propaganda", i.e. sharing his faith with his co-workers. He was severely beaten on four separate occasions during 1985 -- January 14, June 10, July 10, and October 14 -- going to and from his home. He was arrested at the outset of this campaign of terror on January 14, but was released after being fined 1,000 lei. He is under constant surveillance. As a consequence of these experiences, Florea has developed suicidal tendencies and an acute fear of the dark. He was

dismissed from his job as a laborer.

SOVIET UNION

BALYS GAJAUSKAS :
This man has served 33 of his 59 years in Soviet labor camps. He first served a 25 year sentence for his involvement in the Lithuanian resistance movement during the Soviet takeover of Lithuania. He was sentenced in 1978 to ten years imprisonment plus five years internal exile for his work on behalf of the Russian Social Fund, a charity to aid the families of prisoners of conscience.

INNA BEGUN :
Inna Begun's husband Josef is serving a 12 year sentence for his work as a Hebrew teacher at the forefront of the Jewish cultural and religious movement. Inna has not been allowed to see her husband since his arrest in November 1982, with the exception of a brief visit to the labor camp when their marriage was registered. Inna and their son Boris engaged in a hunger strike in March of 1985 in protest of the harsh treatment meted out to Josef in the camp, and they were joined by about 100 Soviet Jews in a rota of fasts. Josef has been transferred to the notorious prison of Christopol as a punishment for speaking to other prisoners about the role of Jews in the victory over the Nazis in the Soviet Union. In the first letter received from him in many months, Josef writes to his wife and son that he fears he may not survive his sentence- he is 53 years old.

IDA NUDEL :
This woman is known among Soviet Jews as the "guardian angel of the prisoners of Zion" for her tireless support and defence of Jewish prisoners and their families. She was sentenced to four years' exile in 1978, but since completing this term has not been allowed to return to her home in Moscow. She lives under constant surviellance in the small town of Bendery in Moldavia. Despite severe health problems and frequent harassment, she continues to speak out fearlessly for the rights of Jews in the USSR, and to celebrate the Jewish festivals with visiting friends whenever possible.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

JAN JUHASHIK, SR., JAN JUHASHIK, JR., RUDOLF SABANOS, VLADISLAV BAKAY :
These Czech Christians from Slovakia were imprisoned and tortured, and are now sentenced to 15 months in prison for transporting Bibles to the Soviet Union. They were held nine months under investigation which was carried out in part by Soviet authorities. Their sentence is currently under appeal.

(l to r: Jan Juhashik, Sr. and Jr.)

Further information may be obtained by contacting the following: National Conference on Soviet Jewry, 2027 Mass. Ave NW, Washington, DC 20036; Helsinki Watch, 36 West 44 Street, New York, NY [illegible] CREED, 117 Prince Street, Alexandria, VA 22314; International Representation, Inc., George R. Vos, P.O. Box 1268, [illegible] IN 46515 [illegible] Keston College, Keston USA, Box 1310, Framingham, MA [illegible]

EULALIA, A CHRISTIAN MAIDEN, BURNED WITH LAMPS AND TORCHES, AND SUFFOCATED THEREBY, FOR THE FAITH IN JESUS CHRIST, AT EMERITA IN LUSITANIA, A.D. 302

At this time there was a Christian maiden, called Eulalia, not more than twelve or thirteen years old, who was filled with such a desire and ardor of the spirit, to die for the name of Christ, that her parents had to take her out of the city of Merida, to some distant country seat, and closely confine her there. But this place could not extinguish the fire of her spirit, or long confine her body, for, having escaped on a certain night, she went very early the following day before the tribunal, and with a loud voice said to the Judge and the whole magistracy: "Are you not ashamed to cast your own souls and those of others at once into eternal perdition by denying the only true God, the Father of us all, and the Creator of all things? O ye wretched men! Do you seek the Christians, that you may put them to death? Behold, here am I, an adversary of your satanical sacrifices. I confess with heart and mouth God alone; but Isis, Apollo, and Venus are vain idols."

The Judge before whose tribunal Eulalia spoke thus boldly, was filled with rage, and called the executioner, commanding him to take her away speedily, strip her, and inflict various punishments on her; so that she, said he, may feel the gods of our fathers, through the punishment, and may learn that it will be hard for her, to despise the command of our Prince (that is, of Maximian).

But before he allowed matters to proceed so far, he addressed her with these soft words: "How gladly would I spare thee! O that thou mightest renounce before thy death thy perverse views of the Christian religion? Reflect once, what great joy awaits thee, which thou mayest expect in the honorable state of matrimony. Behold, all thy friends weep for thee, and thy sorrow-stricken, well-born kindred sigh over thee, that thou art to die in the tender bloom of thy young life. See, the servants stand ready to torture thee to death with all sorts of torments; for thou shalt either be beheaded with the sword, or torn by the wild beasts, or singed with torches, which will cause thee to howl and wail, because thou wilt not be able to endure the pain; or, lastly be burned with fire. Thou canst escape all these tortures with little trouble, if thou wilt only take a few grains of salt and incense on the tips of thy fingers, and sacrifice it. Daughter, consent to this, and thou shalt thereby escape all these severe punishments."

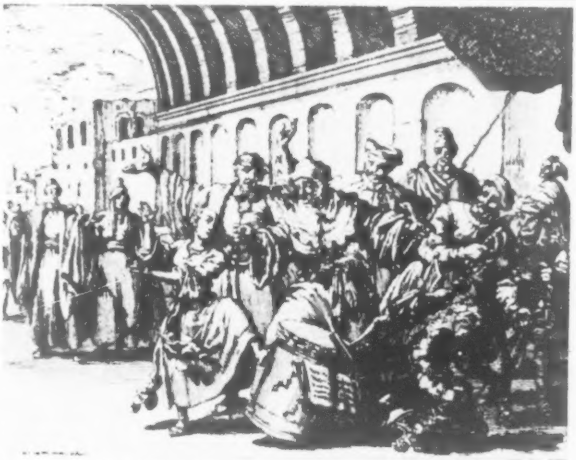
This faithful martyr did not think it worth the trouble to reply either to the entreating or the threatening words of the Judge, but, to say it briefly, pushed far away from her and upset* the images, the altar, censor, sacrificial book, etc.

Instantly two executioners came forward, who tore her tender limbs, and with cutting hooks or claws cut open her sides to the very ribs.

Eulalia, counting and recounting the gashes on her body, said: "Behold, Lord Jesus Christ! Thy name is being written on my body; what great delight it affords me to read these letters, because they are signs of Thy victory! Behold, my purple blood confesses Thy holy name."

This she spoke with an undaunted and happy countenance, evincing not the least sign of distress, though the blood flowed like a fountain from her body. After she had been pierced through to her ribs with pincers, they applied burning lamps and torches to the wounds in her sides, and to her abdomen. Finally the hair of her head was ignited by flames, and taking it in her mouth, she was suffocated by it. This was the end of this heroine, young in years, but old in Christ, who loved the doctrine of her Savior more than her own life. *A. Mell., 1st book, fol. 105, col. 4, and fol. 106, col. 1, 2*, compared with *J. Gys., fol. 23, col. 3, ex Prudent. Steph. Hym. 3.*

This happened in Lusitania, at Emerita, now called Merida or Medina del Rio Sacco, in the uttermost or lowest part of Spain, under the Emperor Maximian and the Proconsul Dacian, as may clearly be seen in ancient writers, and also in the afore-mentioned authors. ■



Eulalia suffocated from smoke inhalation of lamp and torch fumes and then burned in Villa Nova, Portugal, AD 302

THE CASE FOR SPECIAL CASES IN EASTERN BLOC

By Lee H. Hamilton

U.S. policy toward Eastern Europe is under attack for being too easy on communist governments. Some critics want to cancel most-favored-nation (MFN) trading status for Romania, charging that Romania's foreign-policy independence is over-stated. Some also attack U.S. policy on the basis of human rights. Romania has the worst human-rights record in Eastern Europe, and the imprisonment of Polish political activists has led to calls not only for the continuation of U.S. sanctions against Poland but additional punitive measures.

These arguments, taken together, are pushing U.S. policy toward treating all of Eastern Europe as we do the Soviet Union and its ideological shadow, Czechoslovakia. This is a mistake.

Our paramount interests in Europe since 1945 have been stability and the protection of Western Europe against communist aggression. When governments in Eastern Europe distance themselves from Soviet foreign policy, pursue liberal economic reform or improve their human rights record, they plant a doubt in Moscow about their political reliability, which can enhance U.S. interests. The U.S. has often responded positively to such developments with the modest tools available —increased high-level diplomatic contacts, MFN status, Ex-Im Bank credit eligibility, cultural and scientific exchange agreements, etc. Known as "differentiation," this policy has been pursued under various names by every administration since Eisenhower's, and has proven value. Nonetheless, many see it as a failure; it hasn't broken up the Warsaw Pack nor brought human rights and democracy to Eastern Europe, while providing those governments legitimacy without tangible benefits for the West.

Some of these goals have never been within our reach. The Soviet Union has made clear repeatedly—Hungary in 1956, Czechoslovakia in 1968, Poland in 1981—it will not tolerate challenges to communist rule. Each of those times we protested vigorously but did not judge it in our interest to confront the Soviets on turf so far from us and so near and important to them.

Deviations in Eastern Europe from the Soviet line, ironically, have taken place not through rebellion but through the assertion of nationalist policies by communists securely in power. Yugoslavia and Albania defected from the Soviet Bloc, and since the 1960s Romania in foreign affairs and Hungary in domestic affairs have steadily tested and stretched the limits of acceptable bloc behavior.

Eastern Europe is now at a critical juncture. During years of aged and indecisive leadership in Moscow, more independent economic and political trends emerged in Eastern Europe. Mr Gorbachev is now pressured to seek conformity. He wants to cut trade subsidies to Eastern Europe and enlist capital from the bloc for Soviet energy and transportation projects, a strategy that conflicts with the Soviets' other policy goal of political stability in Eastern Europe. Every government in Eastern Europe knows that stable party rule depends upon the improvement of living standards. As Hungary, East Germany and even Bulgaria explore economic reform and trade openings to the West, we should encourage this slow and sometimes even stealthy evolution in their policies. As they increase economic ties with the West, they will become less beholden to the Soviets and more receptive to our concerns, including human rights.

U.S. policy of differentiation does pose difficult choices. Romania's internal stability is precarious and it has adopted many repressive, neo-Stalinist policies, but in accordance with the Jackson-Vanik amendment it has allowed the emigration of 150,000 of its citizens to West Germany, Israel and the U.S. since it received MFN trading status in 1975. Romania openly criticized Soviet military intervention in Eastern Europe, does not permit Warsaw Pack troops to hold maneuvers on its territory, and is the only communist country with full diplomatic ties to Israel. While we should press human-rights issues when dealing with the Romanians, blocking MFN could affect future emigration levels.

In East Germany, the U.S. faces one of Moscow's closest allies. Yet today there may be a basis for settlement of U.S. and Jewish World War II claims and of several human-rights cases in exchange for some modest increases in trade.

Elsewhere, differentiation might mandate changes in U.S. policy toward Poland. Right now, the U.S. treats Poland more harshly than it does the U.S.S.R. President Reagan met with Chairman Gorbachev, but the U.S. shuns high-level contacts with the Jaruzelski government. The U.S. stopped its pipeline sanctions and grain embargo against the Soviet Union, but has kept key sanctions against Poland.

Still holding about 265 political prisoners, Poland reneged on its July 1984 amnesty agreement. But open circulation of publications critical of the government, and the ability of Catholics to practice their faith, indicate a freedom of expression unmatched in Eastern Europe. The Jaruzelski government has blamed its failings on U.S. sanctions, an argument many Poles are beginning to believe.

Whatever their original merit, U.S. sanctions against Poland are now counter-productive. It is time for better ties. Poland is current on its debt-rescheduling payments and has paid more than $400 million to the U.S. Treasury this year. Our influence over economic policies in Poland will be greater if it is inside the IMF instead of out. Suspension of MFN makes Poland more dependent upon Soviet trade. Credits suspension is symbolic, since for economic reasons Poland is unable to secure new credits. But we should not block future credits if they are tied to sensible projects or economic-reform policies.

Immediate opportunities for the U.S. to wean Eastern Europe away from the Soviets are few, but we should act when we can. The price of providing legitimacy or modest economic benefits to communist governments is surely outweighed by the development of economic and political ties that contribute to their greater independence. Emotional satisfaction should not frustrate a sound policy of differentiation consistent with long-term U.S. interests. ■

Mr. Hamilton (D., Ind.) is chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East.

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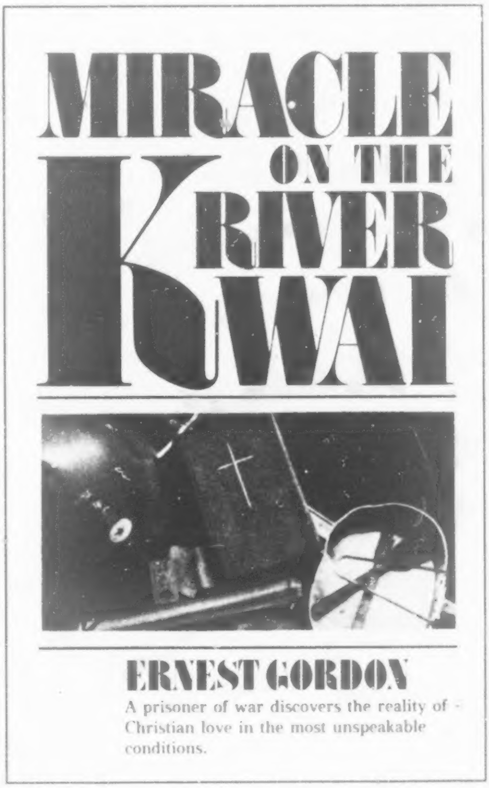

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Answers of László Hámos to Further Questions by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee Staff

Hearing on United States-Rumanian Policy
and Most Favored Nation Status for Rumania
Senate Foreign Relations Committee
European Affairs Subcommittee
February 26, 1986

QUESTION 3. In 1985, the U.S. and Rumania reached an understanding on procedures for emigration to the U.S. that were aimed at alleviating hardships encountered by individuals who have received exit permission, but are awaiting U.S. visas or other travel documentation. What has been the effect of this understanding in practical terms? Has it reduced the large and embarassing U.S. backlog in admissions?

ANSWER TO QUESTION 3. In response to an earlier question by Senator Dodd, I already noted that the organization I represent does not focus on the question of emigration. In our view, instead of identifying itself with a regime whose prime accomplishment appears to be to drive record numbers of people into exile, the United States should utilize the considerable economic and political leverage at its disposal to seek improvements in the rights of people who wish to stay in Rumania. By shifting the focus of its policy in this way, the United States would work to ease the ever-increasing burden on our own Immigration and Naturalization Service. In addition, it would win the gratitude and trust of an audience far greater in size than those fortunate few who are able to leave: the vast, unheard majority of Rumania's inhabitants who must continue to suffer the daily indignities of life under the brutal and oppressive Ceausescu dictatorship.

For the 2.5 million Hungarians of Rumania, whose ancestors inhabited the same region for eleven centuries, the highest aspiration is not the right to emigrate, but protection of their right to live undisturbed and free to maintain their ethnic identity within their own ancestral homeland.

Since our organization does not regularly monitor the status of U.S. emigration approvals, I am not qualified to fully answer your question. Nevertheless, we are aware of a group of recent cases where the protracted U.S. failure to grant immigration approvals has reached scandalous proportions. Conscience dictates that I take this opportunity to bring this matter to your attention. I am referring to 34 families in Cluj (Kolozsvár), most of them Hungarians and most of them possessing the necessary Rumanian exit papers for periods in excess of three years. In accordance with "normal" Rumanian practice, throughout these years they have all had to suffer displacement from their homes and denial of employment, solely because of the U.S. failure to process their immigration applications. In several cases (including that of Iliana Balogh, whose sister Mrs. Mózes Kovács is a resident of New Brunswick, New Jersey) those applications were based on grounds of reunification with immediate family members who are U.S. citizens.

As their circumstances grew increasingly unbearable, starting on March 15, 1986 the 34 families entered a collective hunger strike to protest the continued inaction by American immigration officials. According to latest report, on March 24 Rumanian authorities siezed four members of the group and had them forcibly committed to psychiatric institutions, on grounds of insanity.

Clearly, the U.S. should take swift action to secure the release of the four individuals and to eliminate this particular, long-standing and highly embarassing bureaucratic delay.

QUESTION 6. In theory, the sizeable Hungarian, German, Jewish and other minorities enjoy the same rights as ethnic Rumanians. Recently, however, these groups, especially the Hungarians, have been subjected to increasing discrimination. A program of "Rumanianization" apparently continues, with university studies in Hungarian and German sharply curtailed. Libraries are removed from their ethnic regions, and provincial language schools have been closed. Please assess the current situation, its motivation and the U.S.'s capacity to affect this process.

ANSWER TO QUESTION 6. As detailed in my written statement, since the 1950's national minorities in Rumania have been subjected to a systematic campaign to coerce them into renouncing their national origins, culture and heritage, and to force their assimilation into the dominant nationality. Of prime importance in examining the various anti-minority abuses mentioned in your question is not to consider those abuses as chance or isolated incidents, perhaps nothing more than an occasional product of excessive behavior by local authorities.

Instead, the evidence from the last thirty years reveals the existence of a centralized government program, consisting of interlocking administrative measures, coupled with outright physical violence, to destroy the language, culture, traditions and religious life of the minorities.

Equally important is to recognize the context in which this program is carried out. The Communist system, as exists in Rumania, imposes a greater degree of centralized control and direct supervision by government authorities over more areas of community and private life than was ever the case at any other time in the history of the region. It is this feature which has given the above-described campaign particularly devastating impact.

A realistic assessment of the current situation is that the Ceausescu regime has recently embarked on the culminating stage of the systematic process to dismantle the minorities' educational and cultural institutions, suppress their sense of national identity and eliminate their possibilities for literary or artistic expression. The situation today is characterized by an increasing militancy and boldness of purpose. The newest administrative measures, such as the outright elimination of all minority-language broadcast programs, or the termination of the Hungarian-language periodical Művelődés, were imposed without even a token effort to disguise or rationalize the move. Physical violence and intimidation against not only those who resist, but all prominent Hungarian minority figures, is increasingly commonplace.

The motivation for minority persecution in Rumania is the ideology of virulent nationalism first instituted in the late 1950's by Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej and intensified since the mid-1960's under Nicolae Ceausescu. A mythical, artificially inflated sense of national pride, coupled with officially condoned sentiments of resentment and hostility against the alien, inferior beings (the national minorities), are seen as effective tools for manipulating public opinion to deflect attention from the general absence of political rights and the very real presence of economic hardship.

As explained in response to an earlier question, the United States possesses a tremendous, but largely untapped, capacity to affect this process. By virtue of the superior value of the economic and political favors it bestows on Rumania -- and because of the dependence of the Rumanian government on our largesse -- our government could exert considerable influence for meaningful reform. The prospects for Rumania's minorities would improve significantly if the

U.S. government took its own pronouncements on human rights seriously, and it began to raise the issue of minority persecution with the Rumanian leadership in a vigorous, firm and consistent fashion.

QUESTION 7. Many say that the "cult of personality" associated with Ceausescu has been taken to the extreme during the past year, and that Ceausescu's illness may have made him less than rational. In such a climate, many are not sanguine that any U.S. action can stem the tide of religious, cultural and minority persecution. What is your assessment?

ANSWER TO QUESTION 7. Based on the abundance and severity of recent minority abuses alone, I fully agree with any view which questions the sanity of the man responsible for such behavior. Whether due to an illness in his prostate gland, or elsewhere, Ceausescu has managed to plunge his country into a darkness of political repression and economic misery which defies comparison. What is more offensive, however, is that he has accomplished this result with the active economic assistance and long-standing political acquiesance, if not outright support, of the U.S. government.

But, by the same token, if a ten-year policy of accomodating and appeasing the Ceausecu regime was able to produce only new depths of terror and financial ruin, what possible benefit could there be in continuing that policy?

If, as it seems, Ceausescu is no longer rational, then the rational response is not to continue humoring him. The more appropriate response would be to suspend our relationship now, with the clear signal that it will be restored the moment meaningful reforms are instituted. In this way, the United States would no longer be seen as legitimizing a corrupt and decaying regime. Instead, by applying a principled stand on human rights, it would be identified with, and credited for, the change which will inevitably occur -- and probably for the better -- in Rumania.

QUESTION 8. What are the examples of greatest success and most frustrating failure associated with American efforts to improve human rights conditions within Rumania? What steps have been most effective? What actions are least effective?

ANSWER TO QUESTION 8. Though it did nothing to improve internal conditions within Rumania, the greatest success of American efforts related to human rights was the threatened suspension by the Reagan Administration in 1983 of Rumania's Most Favored Nation status. The action was successful because it resulted in an agreement by the Ceausescu regime to discontinue implementing a new law which imposed an excessive education tax on would-be emigrants. The incident is worth noting because it was the only case in which the United States took direct, immediate and firm action in response to a human rights abuse by the Rumanian leadership.

The most frustrating failure of American efforts is that, aside from the single example noted above, the U.S. government has been consistently unwilling to take effective action in response to the growing abusiveness of the Ceausescu regime. As a result, throughout the ten years since Rumania was granted MFN status, the Ceausescu regime has not instituted a single, even token gesture to improve the human rights condition of national minorities.

The most effective step would be to apply tough sanctions to secure Rumania's compliance with internationally recognized standards of human rights. At present, the most effective sanction would be a six-month suspension of MFN, with renewal conditioned on substantial improvement in Rumania's human rights behavior, including greater respect for the rights of national minorities. Another effective measure would be to eliminate the haphazard attention given to this issue in the Congress by establishing a consistent and ongoing mechanism for monitoring human rights conditions in Rumania and enabling a periodic high-level communication of key areas of concern to Rumanian government representatives.

Least effective steps include (a) the pattern exhibited in all manner of State Department public pronouncements to cast vague and deprecating remarks on the indignities suffered by national minorities, which consistently trivialize the issue and ignore the wealth of detailed, factual data available on the situation; and (b) the frequent repetition, also by State Department personnel, of self-defined "limitations on our ability to influence the Rumanian leadership."

QUESTION 10. Has the worsening economic situation in Rumania exacerbated lingering ethnic and nationalistic tensions? Is it possible that future economic difficulties will be associated with ethnic and cultural repression?

The worsening economic situation has, indeed, been utilized by the Ceausescu leadership to create a kind of "siege mentality," where the proud and independent Rumanian nation is depicted as struggling bravely against formidable odds -- including the enemy within: the national minorities. A deliberate effort to denegrate minorities and portray them as scapegoats for present-day economic misery is increasingly evident in both officially authorized publications and tacitly condoned manifestations of chauvinistic excess. Left uncurbed, a continued Ceausescu-type rule, together with a deepening economic crisis, are likely to produce still stronger and more aggressive state-sponsored appeals to nationalistic sentiment, leading to heightened tension and the possibility of violence between Rumanians and Hungarians.

THE DEFECTOR'S STORY

He Is the Highest-Ranking Intelligence Officer from a Soviet-Bloc Country to Defect to the West. He Paints Rumanian President Nicolae Ceausescu as Napoleonic in His Obsessions. His Defection Led to Purges in His Homeland and to the Recall of Rumania's Ambassador to the United States. He Suggests That Everyone Is Corruptible. For the First Time, He Tells His Story.

BY ION MIHAI PACEPA

When Ion Mihai Pacepa arrived at Andrews Air Force Base on July 28, 1978, aboard a US military aircraft that had taken off in West Germany, he was described by State Department spokesmen and newspaper reports as a "high-ranking aide" to Rumanian president Nicolae Ceausescu.

In fact, Pacepa, who quickly was granted political asylum by the United States, had been personal adviser to Ceausescu and deputy director of the Department of Foreign Intelligence—called DIE from its Rumanian name, Departamentul de Informatii Externe. He is the highest-ranking Soviet-bloc intelligence officer ever to defect to the West.

Within months of Pacepa's defection, the Rumanian ambassadors to the United States and the United Nations were replaced. In a November 19, 1978, report on Rumania, Michael Dobbs of the Washington Post wrote that the Pacepa affair "has contributed to the most thorough purge of ranking Communist-party and government officials since Ceausescu came to power thirteen years ago."

Educated as an engineer at the Polytechnical Institute in Bucharest, Pacepa entered the Rumanian intelligence service in 1951, when he was 23 years old. By the time of his defection he had been a frequent visitor to the United States.

Pacepa made advance arrangements for President Ceausescu's official trips to visit President Richard Nixon in 1973, President Gerald Ford in 1975, and President Jimmy Carter in 1978. He then accompanied the Rumanian president and his wife, Elena, on all three of the White House visits. During these state visits, Pacepa not only arranged discussions with American Presidents but even provided a food taster for the security-obsessed Ceausescu. Pacepa also arranged for special Rumanian intelligence teams to electronically sweep Ceausescu's quarters in the US for listening devices, including rooms at Blair House.

Pacepa, whose father worked in Rumania for General Motors before World War II, is now 57 years old and living under a new identity in the US. His daughter, Dana, an artist, remains in Rumania with her husband and family. Despite making repeated attempts, Pacepa has had no contact with her since he called her from West Germany in 1978, just before his defection. An "open letter" sent to her last year through a Paris newspaper—and repeated time and again over Radio Free Europe—ended:

"There is a picture on my desk. I took it on a sunny day, of you eating an apple. Bite the apple again, my daughter, for infinitely more sunny days. I love you incredibly much, my Dana."

Pacepa is at work on a book about life at the top in the Communist world and about what he calls "the first Communist dynasty"—Nicolae Ceausescu and his family. These excerpts from the book manuscript represent the first time Pacepa has told his story for publication.

HEADS OF STATE

BLAIR HOUSE: THE LADY WASN'T IMPRESSED

Rumanian president Nicolae Ceausescu and his wife, Elena, arrived in Washington on April 11, 1978, for a state visit with Jimmy Carter. Ceausescu has not returned to the United States since.

The presidential Boeing 707 landed at Andrews Air Force Base at 6 PM. A few minutes later Evan Dobelle, the US chief of protocol, came on board the plane and invited the Rumanian guests onto American soil. At the plane's steps, Nicolae Ceausescu and his wife, Elena, were greeted by Secretary of State Cyrus Vance and his wife, Grace, as well as by other American and Rumanian repre-

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sentatives. From the airport the Ceausescus rode in the same car with the Vances. Half an hour later, the motorcade arrived at the official residence for visitors, Blair House.

Blair House was already familiar to me from Ceausescu's last two visits to Washington, in 1973 and 1975. To alleviate Elena's traditional scene over not yet having her luggage when she arrived, I asked one of the people in charge of the house to show her around.

"Blair House was built by Dr. Joseph Lovell, America's first surgeon general, 154 years ago," the distinguished lady said with professional competence. "After his death, in 1836, the family sold the house for $6,500 to Mr. Blair, who had just come to Washington as the new editor of the *Globe*. . . ."

The tour began with the first floor's Blair drawing room and its beautiful Queen Anne desk and magnificent Sully portrait of Montgomery Blair, then it continued to the Abraham Lincoln Room.

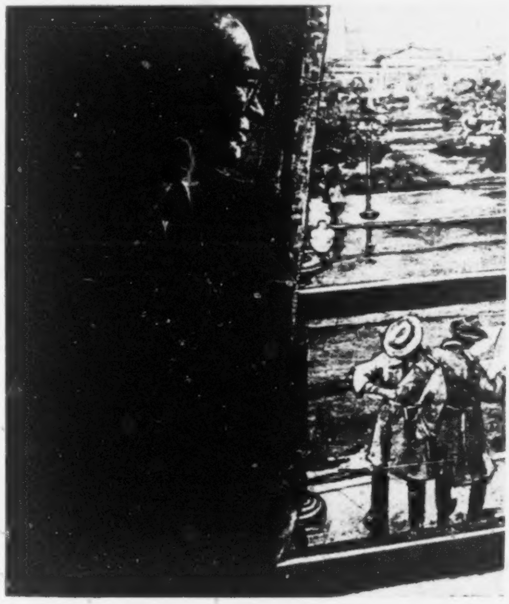
"It was in this room full of memorabilia that Mr. Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation," the guide went on, pointing to a pen-and-ink drawing of President Lincoln. "The portrait of General Robert E. Lee is a reminder of the fact that, in this same room, Lee refused the command of the Union Army, which was offered to him by Lincoln through Blair, who was related to Lee by marriage." The table in the first-floor dining room was set with heavy linen damask cloths for the private dinner on this evening.

On the second floor Elena was shown Ceausescu's large bedroom, adjoining a spacious library, both decorated with fresh flowers. That morning's *Washington Post* and *New York Times*, as well as the just-arrived evening newspaper, the *Washington Star*, lay on a table in the library.

"This is your bedroom suite, madam," said the guide, pointing to a room with a lovely, canopied four-poster bed. "Although it could not be refurbished in time for the 1957 visit of Queen Elizabeth, it is still called the Queen's Suite to this day," finished the guide, wishing Elena an enjoyable stay.

"Close the door, Pacepa," Elena's acid voice suddenly rasped out. After I had executed the order, she exploded. "Just look at the harpy. She has never seen me before in her life, and she decides I should sleep here, not with the Comrade. Just so she can make up stories about the Comrade to tell other people who stay here."

Imitating the guide's voice, she went on, " 'We have an Emancipation Proclamation.' It's a long way from that piece of paper until these idiots will really be emancipated." Then, suddenly changing the subject, she ordered me, "Tell our press correspondents to include in their articles that 'the Vances came to the airport on behalf of the President of the United States and Mrs. Rosalynn Carter.' Idiots that they are, they may forget that."



FRIENDLY PERSUASION

Jean-Bédel Bokassa became leader of the Central African Republic in a coup staged December 31, 1965. On December 4, 1977, he crowned himself emperor of the impoverished nation in a lavish ceremony. Ousted in a coup nearly two years later and sentenced to death in absentia for atrocities committed during his reign, Bokassa lives now in France.

Before the infamous president of the Central African Republic Jean-Bédel Bokassa made a visit to Rumania, the DIE spent months on intensive intelligence operations to study him. The most important vulnerabilities found were his insatiable desire for women and a primitive impulse to collect jewels, money, and personal bank accounts and safe-deposit boxes in Switzerland. Several days after Ceausescu received a complete study on Bokassa, he took me for a walk in the enormous garden surrounding his personal residence.

"Central Africa has huge diamond reserves, which could spell a fortune for us. The problem is we cannot compete with the experienced capitalist sharks in obtaining concessions for diamond mining there. We'll have to steal them. Bokassa has five wives in Bangui. Let's give him another one, prettier and more high-class than he could ever dream of having. Get a good-looker ready for his visit, and then let Bokassa find her himself. And then I'll be magnanimous with him."

During his visit to Bucharest, Bokassa fell head over heels in love with a comely Rumanian doctor who was a security agent sent to him when he gave the first sneeze of an apparent cold. Following Bokassa's repeated requests to Ceausescu, the doctor was sent to Africa on a special presidential airplane to further treat the cold he had allegedly contracted in Rumania. The doctor was overwhelmed with jewels, was given a personal villa full of servants, and became Bokassa's unofficial but favorite wife.

When she asked for fresh tomatoes and other vegetables, Bokassa implored the Rumanian ambassador to help him. Military airplanes brought an agricultural team and equipment into the country,

ILLUSTRATION BY LAURA STUTZMAN/FLOOR

and soon a modern vegetable farm started producing for Bokassa and the doctor. The manager of the farm, an agricultural engineer, was actually a DIE officer who became the doctor's case officer.

Soon after that, Vasile Pungan and Nicolae Doicaru, two of Ceausescu's personal advisers, made a secret trip to Bangui. When they returned home, they reported that Bokassa had accepted 10 percent of the Rumanian profits from diamond mines developed on preferential terrains in his country, taking the business away from Western companies with experience in diamond mining.

Several years later, the doctor decided to take her life in her own hands. She escaped from Bangui with some of the jewels Bokassa had given her and began a new life in France. Discovered by the French press, she made history telling of her romance with Bokassa, but she carefully omitted all mention of her connections with the DIE.

"MAKE USE OF CARTER'S INEXPERIENCE"

We were walking along the garden path at his Bucharest residence when Ceausescu suddenly started talking.

"I read through the whole file you gave me on Carter and his family twice." I had given him a briefing file on American President Jimmy Carter, based on material in DIE records.

"I can see that, despite his innocent smile, his soft voice, and shy manner, Carter is not an easy or predictable fellow. But he is not contradictory, as you describe him. The file says that, although he graduated from the Naval Academy only in 60th place out of 820, he has the intelligence of a near genius, a fantastic memory, an unusual capacity to absorb masses of information, and is a very good listener and a very hard worker. That's not a contradiction. I never graduated from any university before becoming a political leader. His rivals accuse him of having concealed a high degree of stubbornness and a vindictiveness behind his smile when he was the governor of Georgia. That's not a contradiction, either. It's probably normal for a politician.

"In my opinion, his weak points are other ones. One is his ridiculous religiousness. . . . Another weakness is his intense inner life, which is detrimental to the dynamism he needs to have.

"Nevertheless, as I read in your file and between its lines, Carter has enough qualities to succeed. You probably haven't realized that there are even some similarities between him and me. Both of us consider that the people elected us not just as an individual but as a paterfamilias, that our wives and children were also elected together with us. Apropos, you might pull together everything you have on Carter's deep respect for his wife and children and on his commitment to giving them a high profile during his presidency, and then give it to Comrade Elena. That may help to change her broken record that Carter is nothing but a peasant.

"Carter's biggest disadvantage is that he is totally inexperienced—what can you expect from somebody who raised and sold peanuts all his life? That's one of the worst sides of the American system: Anybody can become President, if he has money and a nice smile, and then, just when he starts to learn something, he has to leave. They just can't understand that being chief of state is a profession. . . .

"Anyway, that's their problem, isn't that true? And we should make use of Carter's inexperience and friendship as long as he is President. That's why I insisted on having my visit there in the very first days of his presidency, to find him virgin, uncontaminated by the influence of others."

Suddenly Ceausescu stopped, hung onto a button of my jacket, and, looking me in the eye, continued in a low, conspiratorial tone. "In your file on Carter's family, I see that his brother, Billy, is some kind of drunk, a corruptible fellow who doesn't know how to do anything but is trying to turn a fast buck any way he can. I see also that the DIE has turned up a foreign agent who might manage to build up some business relations with Carter's farm and with Billy. Isn't that a Liberian who has an export-import company in London?"

"Yes, Comrade," came my answer.

"We should do everything we can to encourage this operation. We import enough peanuts into Rumania, so let's buy them from him, from his farm. We can use so many peanuts that we could buy up his whole production for at least the next ten years. Let's make Billy our representative for importing peanuts and other things. But for the beginning, let's work under a foreign flag. Let's import peanuts through the London company of your Liberian agent's. When Billy has gotten enough of a taste for this money, then we can tell him that it's not English or Liberian money, but ours. But only when we are sure that Billy won't be able to do without his new source of income."

AP / WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

Rumanian president Nicolae Ceausescu and his wife, Elena, arrive at Washington's Andrews Air Force Base in December 1973. The hatless man in horn-rims behind them is the author of this story, Ion Mihai Pacepa, then a Rumanian intelligence officer and personal adviser to Ceausescu.

ADVICE FOR KOJAK

Although Ceausescu has never been in a public movie theater, he is a movie fanatic. Each of his four residences has a fully equipped projection room and a permanent film library. His favorites are movies about the Roman empire and Napoleon and American police films and television shows.

During a movie at his private residence, where he does not have to worry about protocol or what people looking at him will think, Ceausescu is a normal human being, relaxed and entirely different from his public image. He loves to watch *Kojak* shows, not only because they are full of action, but especially because with his quick mind he has no trouble figuring out the dénouement of a *Kojak* episode. Savoring the thought that he would once again be one step ahead of Kojak, he settled down into his chair, disappearing completely from my sight from where I was sitting behind him.

"Come on. Don't waste your time on him, Commissar. He's a friend. You'd do better to keep your eye on the dead man's girlfriend. Hey, Ropoteanu, tell him that in English."

Ropoteanu was an English teacher who had become an intelligence officer and was Ceausescu's favorite interpreter for movies.

"Don't listen to the captain, Kojak," Ceausescu continued his advice. "He didn't know anything in the last movie, either. In Rumania I wouldn't keep him on the payroll a single day longer."

"An idiot, Nick. An idiot," piped up Elena, who was sitting in the chair beside him. "All security officers are idiots. I've told you that many times. Wouldn't it be better to show a war movie, with the army in it? They're idiots, too, but at least they carry out orders without asking any questions."

At the end of the movie the lights revealed Elena fast asleep, with her head resting on the soft back of her easy chair. Her mouth and her robe had both fallen indecorously open.

Shortly after Ion Mihai Pacepa defected in 1978, Nicolae Nicolae, then Rumanian ambassador to the US, was recalled from his country's embassy on Sheridan Circle (above), where Pacepa had served as an intelligence operative.

HUMAN RIGHTS AND WRONGS

CEAUSESCU'S GRAND PLAN

"Horizon" was by far the most secret DIE operation, and its files were locked in the DIE's super-secure vault, continuously covered by closed-circuit television cameras and accessible only to the minister of interior, the political chief of the DIE, and me. Everything in its files is written only by hand.

"Horizon" was Ceausescu's grand plan, an extension of Euro-Communism, for strengthening his Communist rule in Rumania with help from capitalist governments. It was created by him as a masterpiece of a political-influence operation, aimed at gaining Western good will, political support, credits, and prohibited technologies, without in the least compromising Bucharest's orthodox Marxist rule.

"Horizon," contained in several bulky files organized by geographic area, was the only place where one could find a distillation of Ceausescu's overall goals and concrete objectives for each non-Communist country of interest, starting with the United States and ending with Bokassa's Central African Republic, as well as data on the most important influence agents created by the DIE over the years.

Concealed in the "Horizon" files was information on every major successful influence operations created by Ceausescu. Among the oldest was the operation to provide clandestine support for Willy Brandt, the chairman of West Germany's Social Democratic party, in two parliamentarian votes of confidence, in 1973 and 1974, which he won only by also having two supporting votes from the opposition. According to the DIE station chief in West Germany, the two deputies in question had been approached by Rumanian intelligence officers, who plied them with valuable gifts and persuaded them to vote against their own party.

One of the newest operations documented there, and by far the most important, was the annual effort to have the United States Congress renew most-favored-nation trade status from Rumania.

For this operation, almost every Rumanian representative in the United States, including the ambassador, was replaced by an intelligence officer. More than 10,000 Rumanians were recruited as agents and sent to the West as émigrés in a mass operation designed to influence the governments of the United States and its allies, especially West Germany and Israel. Intelligence officers and agents were secretly sent to the United States to take over control of émigré organizations and direct their publications and social activities.

The file showed that the DIE had helped finance and direct the activities of such émigré organizations as the American-Rumanian Central Foundation, the American-Rumanian National Institute, and the American-Rumanian National

Committee for Human Rights. Through such organizations, the DIE conducted an intensive lobby on Capitol Hill and led street domonstrations in Washington. In 1975, when Rumania first received most-favored-nation status, the DIE's chief was rewarded by being made a Hero of the Rumanian Socialist Republic, and the chief of the US Brigade was promoted to the rank of general.

Ceausescu considered that this operation gave Communist Rumania the most valuable political, financial, and technological benefits in its history.

TARGETS OF ASSASSINATION

At the conclusion of his 1978 visit to the US, Ceausescu and Jimmy Carter issued a joint declaration in which both affirmed the "observance of and promotion of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, including all the conditions required for a free, dignified, and prosperous life."

Three months later, during a walk in his garden, Ceausescu ordered Pacepa to arrange the assassination of Emil Georgescu, a supervising editor in Radio Free Europe's Rumanian Department.

"Emil Georgescu must be killed, without involving the Rumanian government," Pacepa recalls Ceausescu saying. "Foreign professional criminals must be used, and that wasps' nest, Radio Free Europe headquarters, must be wiped out with powerful explosives."

Pacepa defected one week later.

In the totalitarian logic of the Rumanian government, émigrés are Rumanian citizens subject to Rumanian laws, regardless of their current citizenship. In dealing with them, the DIE has the same role as the security forces have inside Rumania: It acts as the "extended arm of the proletarian dictatorship."

In 1975 the DIE began an ambitious project to set up a complete, computerized data bank on the more than 600,000 native or second-generation Rumanians living in the West, using consular, mail-censorship, and intelligence information. Undercover officers and agents sent abroad to take over control of émigré organizations, publications, and social activities used various covers, from folk-art instructor to priest.

Because the Rumanian government has no prisons abroad, it uses beatings, kidnappings, and unattributable assassinations to "discipline" émigrés in the West. It has become a matter of political prestige for Bucharest to try to execute defectors who have been granted political asylum in such countries as the United States, France, and West Germany. Explosive letters and packages are sent to Rumanian anti-Communist leaders in exile, such as those mailed during the 1981 Madrid Conference on Security in Europe.

Dissidents who have been given exit visas from Rumania have also become DIE targets for assassination in the West. In April 1982, Matei Haiducu, a Rumanian who moved to France in 1975, confessed to French authorities that he was a Rumanian illegal officer and that his current assignment was to assassinate dissident writers Paul Goma and Virgil Tanase in France "by any means," the only condition being that Rumanian government involvement not become known. Haiducu turned over to the French a fountain pen loaded with a toxic chemical that he had been given to accomplish the deed, in true spy-thriller fashion.

Orders have repeatedly been given for the silencing of émigré journalists and others who publicly criticize the Rumanian dictatorship, including US government employees working for Radio Free Europe. Monica Lovinescu, a respected but outspoken French citizen who for years has been an employee of Radio Free Europe in France, has particularly incensed Ceausescu.

"Lovinescu must be silenced," Ceausescu ordered at one point. "Not killed. We don't need any uncomfortable French and American investigations just now. She should be beaten to a pulp and have her jaw, teeth, and arms broken, so that she will never again be able to speak or write—beaten in her own home so she and others will learn that no place is safe for people who calumniate the proletarian dictatorship, not even their own homes. She should become a living corpse, an unforgettable example for others."

In November 1976 Lovinescu was severely beaten in her home by a Palestine Liberation Organization group acting on Rumania's behalf.

Emil Georgescu, the program editor at Radio Free Europe in Munich whom Ceausescu had ordered me to have killed in 1978, was brutally stabbed 22 times at his own home on July 28, 1981, and barely escaped with his life. That order played a decisive role in my final break with Bucharest.

THE FLESH TRADE

Trade in human beings became another important business for the DIE. Ceausescu was obliged to open the door for emigration, despite his personal repugnance to it, by the international movement for human rights and the freedom

The Ceausescus join President and Mrs. Nixon on the White House balcony in October 1970. Earlier in the month Ceausescu had addressed the UN General Assembly, where he called for the "abolition of military blocs."

of movement, in particular the Helsinki Agreement on Security and Cooperation in Europe and the decision by the US Congress to tie most-favored-nation trade status to emigration rights. Emigration provided Ceausescu with political gain, and he soon decided to use it for financial profit as well, in a highly confidential operation kept so secret that at his direction it was handled only through the DIE.

The DIE initiated discreet contacts in Israel and West Germany and cautiously suggested that, if Rumania could be reimbursed in hard currency for the social and education expenses incurred for the ethnic German and Jewish émigrés seeking to leave Rumania, the emigration process might be accelerated.

Secret, unwritten agreements were made with the Israeli foreign intelligence service and with the West German Ministry of Interior. The Israelis and the West Germans paid thousands of dollars for each Rumanian Jew and ethnic German granted an exit visa, in some cases as much as $50,000 per person, depending on his or her level of education and profession.

Over the years, many hundreds of millions of dollars were secretly paid to Rumania, along with low-interest credits issued through the DIE as bonuses for increasing the emigration quotas. For reasons of secrecy, most of the payments were made in cash and only in US dollars. No other member of the Rumanian government knew anything about them except the prime minister, who was given only a general briefing and instructed that, if the matter even came up, he should vehemently deny any suggestion that Jews and Germans were being sold.

In February 1972 Ceausescu decided that additional side benefits might be had from the emigration of Jews and Germans. "No Rumanian citizen," Ceausescu stated, "whether of Rumanian, Jewish, or German ancestry, should be given an emigration visa unless he is a security agent, has signed a secret, written agreement with the security forces, and has agreed to act as an intelligence agent abroad." More than 10,000 emigrating Rumanians were recruited in a mass operation between 1972 and 1978 and instructed to penetrate the governments, political life, and scientific and technological circles of the United States, Israel, West Germany, and other Western countries.

Most of the Jewish and many of the German émigrés never used their secret communications systems and simply disappeared as agents.

AS OTHERS SEE US

THE AMERICAN WAY

During a previous visit to the United States, I was in the Cabinet Room with Ceausescu, when, counting the labeled chairs, he suddenly said, "Can you believe it? Only thirteen secretaries! Why do we have to have a president and a prime minister? Why do we keep a prime minister, twelve deputy prime ministers, and 40 ministers? Why does the prime minister need 53 labeled chairs for a government meeting? We should learn from the American system of democracy. We should apply the same principles. And if some journalist says we have a dictatorship, we should answer that our government is a faithful copy of the American government. As here, we should have only one boss and several secretaries carrying out his orders."

That was when Ceausescu gave me the order to give him a complete study on the American system of government. Based on this order, a DIE officer under deep cover, Colonel Dumitru Mazilu, was sent to the United States for six months to prepare the study.

When I gave the final report to Ceausescu, he promptly said: "You don't understand anything! I don't need to know anything about the Congress and the judicial system. Stop talking about the three branches of their government. Rewrite the report covering only the administration, and strongly emphasize that the American government has only a President, a Vice President, and a few secretaries, that they don't have and never have had any prime ministers! Write that they have a presidential system without any prime minister or deputy prime ministers and that that's all they need. Someday we have to finish with the wastefulness we have. We don't need two governments, one run by the president and the other by the prime minister."

THE AIR-CONDITIONED NIGHTMARE

Air conditioning was probably my biggest headache for all the presidential visits I prepared.

Shortly after he had taken over, after the death of his predecessor, Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, Ceausescu returned from a secret visit to Moscow and began worrying about a protracted pain in his throat. Gheorghiu-Dej had died from a fast-developing form of cancer, its first symptoms having appeared as throat pains not long after his return from a vacation in the USSR together with the Italian Communist leader Palmiro Togliatti, who had died very suddenly after his return under circumstances considered strange. Ceausescu was convinced beyond the shadow of a doubt that both had been assassinated by the Kremlin through secret radiation with a strong source of isotopes, and his throat pains therefore caused him indescribable panic.

Doctors from all around the world were secretly brought to Bucharest over an anguishing period of long weeks. Finally an old, very conservative West German doctor put it to him very bluntly: "You, sir, talk too much and too loudly, and your vocal chords are terribly irritated. If you want to keep them, you must protect them."

The doctor's prescriptions were old-fashioned: chamomile tea as often as possible, but always when he had to speak longer and louder than usual, and protection from any kind of drafts, including fans and air conditioners. Since then, during every speech Ceausescu makes, a waiter changes his chamomile-tea glass every half hour, no matter whether it is a routine meeting, a Politbureau session, or a Party Congress. Every single fan had to be removed from all his residences, and the central air-conditioning system installed at the Central Committee of the Communist Party was dismantled.

During his foreign visits, especially to North and South America, I encountered indescribable difficulties in having the air conditioning and heating turned off in every building he was to visit and closing or at least covering every vent. In Venezuela, for instance, he ordered me to disconnect the air conditioner in his official vehicle, so that the Venezuelan driver would not under any circumstances be able to turn it on. As it was an armored car, the windows of which could not be opened, the trips around Caracas quickly became a nightmare.

I also had never-ending discussions with the management of the Waldorf Astoria in New York and other hotels used by Ceausescu, when I would ask them to turn off the central air-conditioning or heating systems and to seal off every vent. It repeatedly happened that Rumanian dignitaries accompanying Ceausescu abroad spent their nights trying to find and seal off hidden vents or leaky windows.

DISTINGUISHED AMERICANS

"Pacepa's just been telling me some interesting information about the American President," Ceausescu told Elena as she entered the room. "Carter looks unexpectedly nice, even distinguished, showing esteem for his wife and devotion to his family. I've asked him [Pacepa] to prepare a file for you that I hope you'll like."

"Go soak your head, Nick! Have you ever seen a 'distinguished American'?" Elena squawked, trying to put all her knowledge of English into the last two words. "Name me just one movie where you've seen such an American, and on top of it all a loving husband and devoted father, and I'll eat it, Nick. And you," she went on, turning toward me. "Don't you fill the Comrade's head with your intrigues and fantasies. Do you understand?" Then turning back to Ceausescu. "You'd better come to bed, Nick, rather than wasting your night away listening to fairy tales. You want to learn about Americans? You have your *Kojak* movies. They are at least authentic, made by Americans!"

BOOKS, BLACKS, AND BARBARA WALTERS

The following conversation took place at Blair House on April 11, 1978, the first day of Ceausescu's visit to Jimmy Carter.

"What about the book exhibition I ordered?" Ceausescu asked me.

"It opened today at the Martin Luther King Library, with books printed in all the languages of the various ethnic groups living in Rumania and with a special exhibit case containing books written by and about you. The report says that the director of the library opened the exhibition with an address presenting you as a brilliant thinker and political personality, whose love of books has favorably influenced the whole course of publishing activity in Rumania."

"Listen to him, Nick," Elena broke in. "In all of America, they couldn't find any better place than a library for black people!"

"Anything new on the television interview?" Ceausescu intervened.

"Yes. ABC insists on taping the interview tomorrow afternoon so they can put parts of it on the air during the prime-time news tomorrow evening, the first day of the visit, and broadcast the entire interview on Sunday, April 16, on the *Issues and Answers* show."

"Is the interviewer somebody?" he asked.

"Yes, Comrade. Barbara Walters, one of the ABC's best television interviewers."

"A woman? A woman to interview you, Nick? That's ridiculous! Isn't she the harpy who interviewed Castro and made a whole circus out of his personal life, his estranged wife, and his love affairs? Isn't she that one?"

"I think, Comrade Elena, that she interviewed Fidel Castro several years ago."

"Fiddlers! That's all they all are, nothing but fiddlers. I told you so. It's all a plot against you, no question about it. Why else, out of 200 million Americans, could they find only that harpy to interview you? It's a plot to compromise you, Comrade. Can't you see that?"

After reaching this decision, Elena furiously left the dining area. During Ceausescu's visits abroad, Elena was always dissatisfied with everything and everybody.

TRADECRAFT

THE NUCLEAR GO-BETWEEN

In 1975 I showed Ceausescu credible DIE information indicating that Pakistan was conducting secret operations to develop its own nuclear capability. Two days later he ordered me to arrange a secret meeting for him with Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Pakistan's prime minister. With the help of Andrei Stefan, secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist party and chief of its international department, a short stopover was arranged to take place in Karachi, with Bhutto welcoming Ceausescu at the airport.

When Ceausescu's airplane landed in Karachi, Bhutto was there, accompanied by numerous local dignitaries. He invited Ceausescu for lunch to a nearby palace, where we arrived after almost an hour's ride on a hot, dusty day. In the palace garden tents were already waiting, filled with food in large silver pots. For each guest there were several servants ready to carry out his least wish at the slightest signal. In the main tent, the highest Rumanian and Pakistani dignitaries joined their two leaders for lunch.

Ceausescu has a great talent for personal diplomacy, most of his successes having been brought about by personal discussions. A good psychologist, he pays a great deal of attention to knowing his discussion partners, and he tries to impress and subdue them with a deliberately open and direct manner and with discreet anti-Soviet allusions.

Bhutto was a relatively easy prize for the experienced and well-prepared Ceausescu. By the end of the luncheon, Bhutto was addressing Ceausescu only in superlatives.

After lunch, Ceausescu asked for a private discussion, accompanied only by a DIE interpreter and me. He opened his frontal attack on Bhutto. "You and I share the same dream, to make a place in history for our countries, and the best way to do that is to build their power. In our time the only real power is nuclear power. We should build it secretly. Working separately, our intelligence services"—pointing toward me—"have obtained remarkable results. Together we might be able to realize our dreams. In this envelope is a sample of what we can do. Read it later on. If you agree, give me a sign. If not, you may forget the whole thing."

Bhutto put the envelope carefully into

his pocket, without opening it. It contained a detailed inventory of the nuclear-intelligence information Rumania could secretly provide to Pakistan.

Then there was a short break in the meeting.

When Bhutto came back into the room, he proposed that he and Ceausescu make a public declaration. Ceausescu spontaneously gave a public speech, followed by Bhutto.

Intelligent, sensitive, and ambitious, Bhutto reacted almost exactly as Ceausescu had expected. Just before our departure, he gave Ceausescu an envelope. "Inside is a name, one of our most secret names. Don't try to find him," Bhutto said in my direction, "because he doesn't have any official positions. I will personally instruct him and send him to Bucharest. I will send you the date and flight number through your ambassador, without further explanation. In Bucharest one of your people should meet him and organize future cooperation. It should be a personal contact between two individuals, not two governments. I hope we never need discuss this matter again in our future cooperation, my dear friend."

Two weeks later I had a meeting in a safe house with the man who would become "235," and the next day Ceausescu had both of us for a private dinner at his residence in Snagov, not far from Bucharest. Radu Andreescu was the operational name of a brilliant DIE engineer who became his case officer. Ten days later Andreescu left for Pakistan with a voluminous diplomatic pouch containing the whole documentation secretly obtained from Canada and used to construct a Rumanian heavy-water plant.

He came back with the complete project for a small Canadian Candu reactor that the Pakistani government had bought as well as significant intelligence data on the industrial-size Candu nuclear reactor.

On further visits to Pakistan, Andreescu took with him technical intelligence on West German and French nuclear reactors and security systems, and he brought back to Rumania the Degussa centrifugal system for enriching uranium, data on the industrial production of uranium 235, and other military technical nuclear intelligence that Pakistan had obtained.

A recently arrived postcard was the first sign of life we had gotten from "235" after the July 5, 1977, coup, when General Muhammed Zia ul-Haq arrested Bhutto and declared himself chief administrator of martial law.

"You must be terribly careful! We badly need to keep our Rosenberg," said Ceausescu.

THE CORN CAPER

Technological espionage was also extended to unclassified projects, in order to save costs on legal imports. The complete blueprints for newly designed American aluminum rolling mills were used as the basis for constructing high-capacity aluminum-foil and sheet-metal factories, which were scheduled to go into production between 1982 and 1984. Three glass factories were built from 1976 to 1980 based on illegally obtained intelligence provided by an American engineer in exchange for the initial sum of $200,000. The intention was to flood the American market with glass products at dumping prices. Today Rumanian glass products are for sale at attractive prices all over the United States and Western Europe.

Through an agent recruited at the United States Department of Agriculture's Research Center in Beltsville, Rumania secretly obtained the entire US national hybrid-corn collection, containing more than 14,000 assortments and species, which became the basis for further research in Rumania. Together with other genetic materials also illegally obtained from the United States, American brands of corn, such as Pioneer or Wyoming, soon began to be replaced by Rumanian hybrid strains. As of 1978 they numbered from RH-101 up to RH-291, RH standing for "Rumanian hybrid."

In July 1978 the Rumanian ministry of agriculture estimated the total savings for Rumania generated by this operation over the years at a staggering 300 billion dollars.

SHALLOW PENETRATION

Accompanied by Pacepa and others, Ceausescu visited the Dallas headquarters of Texas Instruments during his April 1978 trip to the United States. Afterwards, at a dinner arranged by the Texas Chamber of Commerce, Ceausescu said, in part:

"Some of the products turned out by Texas Instruments also have a strategic character. We are not concerned with turning out such products, because we stand for disarmament, for the destruction of atomic armaments and of weapons in general. We stand for a world without weapons, a world of peaceful cooperation."

In all of Eastern Europe, and in their foreign intelligence services, Texas Instruments was considered to be the most advanced producer of microelectronics and chips in the whole world, and also

AP/Wide World Photos

The Ceausescus join the Carters in 1978 for more waving from the White House balcony. On this trip Elena Ceausescu was not pleased with the sleeping arrangements at Blair House.

one of the best-protected private companies working on classified government contracts.

During the Brezhnev-Ustinov-Andropov militarization era, I was repeatedly asked by Soviet KGB representatives to direct the DIE toward penetrating Texas Instruments and obtaining its highly secret microelectronic technologies, but the intensive efforts made in this direction over many years were without success.

Some technological information was later obtained indirectly, however, through cooperation with a prestigious British firm producing microelectronics under a Texas Instruments license. Several hundred volumes, containing tens of thousands of pages of classified American documents, were photographed and turned over by a newly recruited and well-paid British agent.

These documents almost entirely filled Ceausescu's executive-committee room when they were presented to him. He considered this operation one of the most valuable producers of technological intelligence for Rumania, and he directed that it be used as the basis for the secret production of chips and other microelectronics in a top-secret military plant close to Bucharest especially created for this purpose. But this beginning only whetted his appetite for a real penetration of Texas Instruments.

After Leonid Brezhnev had personally asked him for information on American microelectronics, Ceausescu asked me to include a visit to Texas Instruments in the itinerary of his April 1978 visit to the US, as a way of opening the door to a direct intelligence operation. At the end of March, when I was sent to the US by Ceausescu to prepare for his visit, he ordered me to go personally to Texas Instruments in my official capacity as presidential adviser and to open its doors for officers from both the Washington and the New York DIE stations. But up until the time of Ceausescu's visit there, the Rumanians had been totally unable to talk with any engineers or technicians from Texas Instruments, being restricted to meeting with only public-relations or security officers.

Several weeks later as Ceausescu stepped inside the company's building, he shot me a triumphant look, then turned to the other people present, his face and eyes lighted up with enormous self-satisfaction. He had accomplished his wish to be the first Communist president to set foot inside Texas Instruments, to do something Brezhnev had been unable to do. Indeed, Ceausescu was at last able to walk into that prohibited microelectronics empire, but the equipment and the people working there could be seen by him only through a protective window wall.

STEALING NASA'S SECRETS

On Saturday, April 15, 1978, we were flying from Dallas to Houston on an Air Force One airplane provided by the White House for Ceausescu's visit to the United States. Without enthusiasm we began a new game of chess.

"Was the contact with 'ARMAND'

put on ice for the duration of the visit, as we discussed, Pacepa?"

"Yes, Comrade. We paid him to take a two-week vacation in Italy. It's best for him to be as far away from NASA as possible."

"That's good. Sometime you may bring him to the Black Sea, under another name, and treat him to a vacation there that he'll never forget."

"ARMAND" was a British engineer who was recruited in the early 1970s on the basis of "tax-exempt" money to provide technological information. He proved to be a workaholic who was greedy to make a fortune, and he turned his contact with the DIE into a big business.

Ceausescu became aware of "ARMAND" when the NASA technical documents he furnished caused stupefaction in Bucharest and a report about them, handwritten and signed by Gheorghe Oprea, the first deputy prime minister, was presented to Ceausescu. The report stated that the NASA documents contained incredibly valuable technological and technical information never before seen in any published material. Because of imperfections in the American bureaucratic system, the material had not yet been legally classified. The report further stated that the information could be immensely useful for the creation of a Rumanian space industry, with meteorological rockets as its public facade and military rockets as its most important and much larger component.

It was proposed that the DIE mount an intensive operation to steal as many technical and technological materials from the United States as possible, before the deficiency in the security precautions would be discovered and measures taken to classify such material.

Ceausescu has a particular fascination for everything that is on a grand scale. Now, because of the NASA documents, he could visualize his dream of a space program as not only fantasy but as a real possibility. He ordered me to arrange an exposition of the most significant NASA documents in a room next door to his office, taking maximum security precautions to ensure that the secret of our possession of the NASA documents be tightly kept.

These NASA documents became a cult object of admiration for Ceausescu. The exhibit remained next door to him for many weeks, and he repeatedly visited the secure room where they were kept, asking for explanations and details. Then he started showing the exhibit off—first to his wife, Elena, then to his son, Nicu, and to his brothers, Ilie and Nicolae, both generals, and eventually to his closest collaborators, such as Prime Minister Manea Manescu and Secretaries of the Central Committee of the Communist Party Ilie Verdet, Andrei Stefan, and Corneliu Burtica.

Whenever Ceausescu took me for an evening stroll in his garden, I understood very well that he wanted to talk about something very confidential.

"Remember how, on our last visit to the United States in 1975, Kissinger said that his time and his life were limited, and that he could and would not spend them dealing with small countries, because they couldn't play any significant role in contemporary history? Or how he said that he should spend his time only on the big countries, because only they held the key for the peace and the future of mankind? I said then that he was wrong and that history would prove it. With his German head he can't understand that in today's scientific explosion, undeveloped countries like India or small countries like Pakistan can one day possess nuclear arms and then have a powerful voice in world affairs."

Ceausescu stopped, grabbed one of my buttons, and said, looking deep into my eyes, "Maybe one day Rumania, too, if we could attract Qaddafi's money."

AGENTS OF TERROR

Through cooperation among the Soviet-bloc services, Communist state-owned land, air, and sea transportation organizations were secretly used as cover for the movements of specially trained officers and for the clandestine shipping of captured persons.

Based on the Bulgarian model, in 1972 the CIE (Centrala de Informatii Externe) assumed direct control of the whole TIR (Transport International Routier) land transportation system. Bulgaria has one of the largest TIR fleets in Europe, basically intended for the rapid shipment of its fruits and vegetables to the West. As was the case in Bulgaria, in less than two years' time most of the drivers of the Rumanian TIR trucks were CIE officers under cover, who were trained to transport people and equipment and to pick up espionage materials from dead drops placed along Western highways.

Patterned after Bulgaria's Balkanair, the Rumanian airline company TAROM was taken over by the military intelligence service, Directia de Informatii a Armatei. Positions in TAROM offices in Western countries were filled with officers of the DIA (Rumanian military intelligence).

Drawing on the Hungarian experience with using water transportation on the Danube for clandestine intelligence operations, the CIE took over control of the

Rumanian chartering agency NAVLOMAR, introducing undercover officers into most of its offices abroad. The Bulgarian foreign intelligence service adopted identical measures.

These measures opened a new era in terrorist operations. The intelligence officers assigned under transportation cover were intensively trained. The logistical support systems at their control soon began to be used for illegal import and export. The TIR system was used for the secret transportation of intelligence materials and prohibited goods, from embargoed alloys to Western military equipment captured in Lebanon. TIR trucks were used to ship drugs and contraband arms sold to obtain foreign currency, particularly to Turkey, with the cooperation of the Bulgarian authorities.

Some of these shipments were protected by diplomatic courier seals and papers, as well as by foreign customs seals. In Rumania, every kind of seal used by foreign customs authorities was duplicated over the years and used when needed to replace an original customs seal destroyed in an intelligence operation.

TAROM airplanes were used for the "unaccompanied diplomatic pouch," which consisted of documents, illegally obtained cash, illegal arms for use of the CIE abroad, and technology and other military equipment, including relatively large napalm bombs and COBRA and MILAN antitank missile systems.

NAVLOMAR's ships were occasionally used for bulky pieces of equipment, such as a Centurion tank the DIE obtained, Air Force radar equipment and rockets, and for technology equipment illegally imported from Japan or Hamburg.

Drawing on the experience of the Bulgarians and the Yugoslavs, in the 1970s the CIE started to look for foreign professional criminals capable of carrying out terrorist acts on its behalf. Rumania's close relations with Yasir Arafat, the leader of the Palestine Liberation Organization, opened the way for personal cooperation between DIE leaders and Hanny Hassan, the chief of the PLO security department. Specially trained PLO teams were used to carry out terrorist acts, which only Hassan knew were undertaken for Rumania. Paramilitary training schools were organized in Rumania for training Greek and Spanish Communist-party members for terrorist and guerrilla-type operations. Although the foreigners were trained under the direction of the Rumanian military forces and the DIA, the DIE utilized them for spotting foreign profesional criminals. The Greek Communists were useful in recommending Greek and Turkish terrorists. The Spanish Communists, for many years exiled to France, facilitated contact with French smugglers and drug dealers.

The Mafia is another pool in which the Communists fish. In the 1970s an American citizen who lived in New York City was arrested by the Bulgarians at their border for carrying undeclared, illegal merchandise. He was turned over to Rumanian security authorities because his wife was a native Rumanian. He admitted to being a member of the Mafia in the United States. Asked to locate Rumanian defectors, he came up with reliable information through Mafia sources. He was given the assignment of assassinating several defectors in the United States, but the killings were prevented by my defection.

ENEMY OF THE STATE

Within the Soviet bloc, religion is considered to be even more dangerous than capitalism, because faith cannot be destroyed through political-administrative measures such as the nationalization of capital. When Communist governments, directed from the Kremlin, came to power in Eastern Europe, thousands of churches were seized and turned into cultural clubs, public libraries, Communist office buildings, or simply sealed up. Baptism, marriage and other religious sacraments were outlawed and replaced by civil ceremonies. Many churchmen were sent to labor camps and interrogation centers or secretly assassinated. In Rumania more than 400 Greek Orthodox, Roman Catholic, and other priests and religious servants were secretly arrested on one night, January 7, 1951. These operations were orchestrated by Moscow, as a step toward clearing the way for a society in which Marxism would be the sole religion.

The Roman Catholic Church, because of its close ties to the faithful, its historic ability to mobilize large population groups, its huge international membership, and its financial power, is considered by Communist governments to be a dangerous threat. The neutralization of the Catholic Church is a cardinal task for every Communist government, even in countries where there are relatively few Catholics, such as Rumania. There the Catholic bishops began to be confined to monasteries in 1948. The campaign against Catholicism culminated in a show trial organized in Bucharest by the Soviet forerunner of the KGB and the Rumanian political police in April 1951. The Vatican was accused of anti-state plotting and espionage on behalf of the CIA and other Western intelligence organizations. A number of Catholic clergy were sentenced to jail, official relations with the Vatican were broken, and the seat of the Papal Nuncio was closed.

In the 1950s operations against the Catholic Church inside the Soviet bloc began to be closely coordinated by the Kremlin. A fanatical and experienced member of the Politburo in each country was put in charge of measures against the Catholic Church. In Rumania it was Emil Bodnaras, a former colonel in the Soviet Army during World War II whose real name was Bodnarenko. In 1945, backed by the Red Army, he had been the main person behind the overthrow of the recently elected Rumanian democratic government. Bodnaras remained in charge of measures against the Catholic Church until his death shortly before my defection in 1978.

By 1949, special departments charged with supervising the activities of the Catholic Church had been created in all Soviet-bloc security forces. Every Catholic Church building and religious servant became a target. An operation coordinated by Moscow placed microphones in every Catholic church, especially in the confessionals and priests' residences. In Rumania, they were still there at the time of my defection.

THE FIRST COMMUNIST DYNASTY

IS RUMANIA REALLY A MAVERICK?

Should the West support "maverick" Rumania? Within the limits of Marxist-Leninist principles and Warsaw Pact obligations, Bucharest does display a certain degree of independence from Moscow, deciding its own day-to-day foreign and domestic policies. The nature of this administrative independence is strongly influenced by the kind of personal relationship existing at any given moment between Rumania's leader and the top man in the Kremlin.

Under Nikita Khrushchev, who was considerate of Rumania's leader, Bucharest took pains to inform the Kremlin about all its overt and covert decisions. Leonid Brezhnev, however, ignored the Rumanian leader, an extension of Brezhnev's earlier career as First Secretary of the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic, where he forcibly ejected the Rumanians living there after the province came to the Soviet Union following World War II. As a result, Ceausescu kept Brezhnev at a distance. Under Yuri Andropov and now under Mikhail Gorbachev, who seems to show less rigidity toward him, Ceausescu has evidently resumed closer ties with Moscow.

It is true that Rumania's political position within the Warsaw Pact embodies a degree of genuine independence and is an irritant to the Soviet Union. Until now, however, the pragmatic purpose of that posture has been solely to increase Ceausescu's personal stature and to attract Western money and technology to help build Communism in Rumania.

Rumania has today the second-most orthodox Marxist domestic policy in the whole Warsaw Pact, topped only by Albania, in the entire world. The West's support to Rumania over the past seventeen years, since its spectacular reaction to the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, has not brought about any change in Ceausescu's policies toward his own people, in terms of the economy, the standard of living, or human rights. Rumania's political police are now the most oppressive in the entire Soviet bloc. The ratio of security forces to the total population is one to fifteen, higher than that in any Western jail.

In order to export more fuel, presidential decrees signed in November 1984 forbid the illumination of the streets at night and drastically restrict the use of private automobiles throughout the whole country. According to the Western press, during this past winter the highest temperature permitted indoors in all public buildings in Rumania, including hospitals, was only 40 degrees Fahrenheit, which reportedly caused the deaths of numerous newborn babies in maternity hospitals.

Despite these dramatic signs of economic distress, Rumania has not stopped its politically motivated practice of providing long-term, low-interest—4 percent—credits to Third World countries.

In another recent announcement, the Greek newspaper *Acropolis* called attention to confidential negotiations taking place for the sale of Aristotle Onassis's famous personal yacht *Christina* (now *Aristoteles*), which was given to the Greek government after his death. It is to be purchased as a presidential yacht for Ceausescu. One of the most publicized yachts in the world, the 325-foot *Christina* is fitted with such niceties as a canary-yellow amphibian airplane on the upper deck, a lapis-lazuli fireplace, and bar stools covered with whale foreskin, which may strike only a Ceausescu as not being too much.

At the same time, Ceausescu's messengers have been visiting the United States and other Western countries asking for new financial assistance and the renewal of most-favored-nation status, all of which they claim is vitally needed to support Rumania's independence.

PORTRAIT OF NICU

Now 67 years old, Ceausescu is thought to be seriously, perhaps terminally ill. His death, though, would not necessarily mean that control of Rumania would pass from the Ceausescu family.

Among Ceausescu's most likely successors are his wife, Elena, and his son Nicu. First deputy prime minister and head of the National Council for Science and Technology, Elena has been called by the Rumanian press "a scientist of world reknown." Nicu was once hailed by the newspaper Rumania Libera as being a part of "the line of great continuity of the revolutionary, patriotic spirit."

In the small portrait that follows, Nicu is at the Ceausescus' Bucharest residence. Located on Primaverii Street, it is enclosed by a nine-foot, gray-brick-and-concrete wall. Ceausescu has a weekend home in nearby Snagov, a summer home in Neptun on the Black Sea, and a winter home near Predeal in the Carpathian mountains.

Ceausescu continued silently on the fast walk with me through his Bucharest garden, without looking at me or at anything around him. We passed around the indoor swimming pool, a massive, modern building constructed of concrete and glass, illuminated now in the evening. Through the open sliding door I could hear noisy rock-and-roll music and then splashes, not loud enough to have been made by someone diving but too loud to have been made by someone swimming.

As we pased the open door, I glanced inside to my right and saw Ceausescu's son Nicu throwing Scotch bottles into the pool. He was probably drunk again. Nicu had been a hard drinker ever since his middle teens, when he would often disappear from home and be found days later, drunk as a lord, at some friend's house or in some seedy restaurant. At that time he would drink anything, from *tsuica*—a strong plum brandy similar to *slivovitz*, and the Rumanian national drink—to Cointreau or champagne. Now he drinks only Johnny Walker Black Label Scotch.

A passionate automobile driver, Nicu has demolished at least a dozen cars on his drunken sprees, killed one young Rumanian girl, and injured many people.

LADY MACBETH OF TRANSYLVANIA

When we returned from a reception and dinner given by the mayor of New Orleans during the 1978 visit to the United States, Elena was in good spirits. Ordering her favorite champagne, she said, "I had an interesting conversation with the 'mayoress.' You know, Nick? They are serious people. They don't want abortions. The 'mayoress' said that there's an anti-abortion movement in all of Louisiana and that the Catholic Church played an important role in it."

Draining her glass at one swallow, she continued: "Church or no, I've told you many times, Nick, that we should sign a presidential decree prohibiting abortions in Rumania and obliging every family to have at least four children."

Elena asked for another glass of champagne and emptied it before going on. "Everybody agrees that you are the greatest contemporary statesman and economist. Even the mayor, who met you for the first time tonight, said that you were a visionary, a personality that would live for centuries. A man like you is born once every 500 years."

Elena got yet another glass of champagne. "How do you feel, being so big, so important, and yet the head of such a little country? Only Albania is smaller than our country. If we sign such a decree, in less than ten years Rumania will grow to at least 40 million people. It will be entirely different then," she concluded.

"Hey, woman, be serious—shut up," said Ceausescu, laughing but flattered.

That was not the first time I had heard Elena trying to push through an anti-abortion law. During the countless hours I spent with her, I often saw her dreaming. Her most cherished dream is to become president herself in Rumania as her idol, Isabel Perón, did in Argentina. She dreams of having her name go down in history as the only woman president who during her presidency doubled the population of her country.

In the summer of 1977 Elena sent me to Paris for two weeks with her daughter, Zoia, in order to arrange there for an "accidental" meeting with the man she had selected to become Zoia's husband. A passionate mathematician, Zoia is a genuine dissident, fighting against her father's cult of personality and her mother's reign of terror.

One evening, when we were together in a striptease nightclub in Montmartre, Zoia exploded, having understood very well what was going on: "I don't want my husband to be picked by anybody but myself. I don't want to spend my whole life just having babies. I want a life decided by myself, not by ridiculous rules and laws. If I hear the harpy trying just once more to persuade Papa to sign an anti-abortion law, I'll crack her skull open. She doesn't know how to do anything else but dream about becoming a queen over 40 million idiots!" ☐

Congressmen Press Romania to End Religious Persecution

Three U.S. congressmen were pressuring the Romanian government to make "significant progress" toward ending religious repression just as evangelist Billy Graham planned his first-ever preaching tour of that Eastern-bloc nation.

U.S. Representatives Tony Hall (D-Ohio), Chris Smith (R-N.J.), and Frank Wolf (R-Va.) visited Romania for five days earlier this year. When they returned, they delivered a letter to Nicolae Gavrilescu, Romania's ambassador to the United States. The letter asked Gavrilescu's government to redress 12 specific abuses of religious freedom. "It is our view, based on authoritative reports and our own personal observations," the congressmen wrote, "that religious practice puts some [in Romania] at great risk."

They cited several examples, including churches that were bulldozed due to alleged building code violations; nine pastors who are unable to obtain licenses to minister, three Romanians who apparently lost their jobs because of their religious faith; and believers who have been imprisoned.

CHRISTIAN RESPONSE INTERNATIONAL

U.S. Rep. Frank Wolf (R-Va.) speaks at Tganesti Baptist Church in Romania.

The congressmen appealed for the release of Orthodox priest Cheorge Calciu, who was under house arrest for a year after his release from prison. Calciu had been the target of government harassment and arrest for many years for opposing atheism and the demolition of Orthodox churches by the government.

The congressmen asked the Romanian government to allow the priest to emigrate immediately to the West. Their appeal was reinforced by a letter signed by 66 members of the U.S. House of Representatives as well as initiatives by Senate Majority Leader Robert Dole and the U.S. State Department. The pressure appeared to pay off. Calciu was allowed to leave Romania last month, and he reportedly arrived in the United States nine days later.

The legislators pressured Romania by threatening to take action to revoke that country's Most Favored Nation (MFN) trade status. Without MFN status, Romania would lose close to $1 billion in trade incentives. That would hurt tremendously, because Romania has suffered severe economic setbacks during the past year. In July, the Reagan administration extended Romania's MFN status for one year, but Congress can vote to revoke it at any time.

Hall, Smith, and Wolf traveled to Romania on a fact-finding tour organized by Christian Response International (CRI), an organization that monitors cases of religious persecution around the world. The congressmen worshiped in registered as well as in unregistered churches and met with government officials to appeal for an end to repression of religious believers.

They interceded on behalf of Constantin Sfatcu, who was sentenced in July to more than seven years of hard labor after an incident in which Romanian officials claim Sfatcu tried to murder a police officer. CRI director Jeffrey Collins said evidence indicates that the charges of attempted murder were trumped up, and that Sfatcu was smuggling Bibles. Sfatcu's case has been appealed, and a new hearing is scheduled for later this month.

The congressmen said they were encouraged by developments in the cases of Sfatcu and Calciu. But they said Romania must do much more to convince them that it is making "a good faith effort" to end religious persecution.

"We're not going to base our decision on one or two improvements," Wolf said. "We want to see a pattern, a trend." If that is not forthcoming, the congressmen said they will gradually turn up the heat on Romania, first by offering a resolution of disapproval; second, by backing an embargo on significant Romanian imports, such as textiles; and finally by attempting to remove Romania's MFN status.

Sfatcu

Calciu

While the congressmen monitored the situation, evangelist Billy Graham planned a preaching tour of several Romanian cities. He was invited by the 14 religious denominations that are officially recognized in Romania.

"My primary purpose in going is exactly the same I have had in every other country I have visited—to preach the gospel of Jesus Christ," Graham said before the trip. "The Romanian government, of course, is guided by a communist and atheistic ideology. Nevertheless, the various churches are active and in some instances are growing in their influence."

Hall, Wolf, and Smith said they suspected that the Romanian government might try to use the Graham visit for its own political purposes. However, they said they were pleased the evangelist planned to travel to Romania.

Before his visit, Graham said he intended to speak with Romanian officials about incidents of persecution. "I have done this in every other eastern European country I have visited," he said. ". . . I want to stress that people in America and in other parts of the world . . . have a deep interest in the welfare of believers in Romania and of the Romanian people."

KELSEY MENEHAN

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